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"THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER": BYZANTINE IMPERIAL WOMEN AND THEIR PUBLIC IMAGE FROM ZOE PORPHYROGENITA TO EUPHROSYNE KAMATERISSA DOUKAINA (1028-1203)

Of Eudokia and Constantine X's daughters, the eldest Anna became a nun, possibly under the name of Arete, and Psellos eulogises her dedication to religion, while the youngest, the porphyrogennete Zoe, who married Adrian, brother of Alexios I Komnenos, is praised as a lady of great charm and virtue (*ὡραία τῷ εἴδει σφόδρα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαθή* ...) (45). Psellos' most fulsome flattery towards the women of the Doukas family, however, is reserved for Maria "of Alania", the Caucasian princess who was the wife of his pupil and patron Michael VII, and he presents her in terms that complemented her public image as empress and would have been more than acceptable both to the recipient and to the imperial family as a whole. In his view, Maria is not only of high birth, she is pre-eminent both in virtue and in beauty, and if, in the tragedian's words, "silence is a woman's glory", she should be honoured above all other women, for she only speaks to her husband, and her natural charms are far more attractive than the use of any conventional and artificial aids to beauty (46). It is clear

(45) *Chronographia*, VII (Constantine X), 20 (Renauld, II, 148). Eudokia may have tried to secure an alliance for Zoe, or for herself, with the usurping Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, but, on the advice of the Caesar, John Doukas, brother to the late Constantine X, he chose to marry Maria; see BRYENNIOS, *Historiarum Libri*, III, 25 (Gautier, 253f; *CSHB*, 126f) and *Alexiad*, III, 2, 5 (Leib, I, 108) who criticizes Eudokia for her forwardness in proposing an alliance with Botaneiates; cf. ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xix (*CSHB*, III, 723). For Eudokia's daughters, including the little-known Theodora, who married the Venetian Doge Domenico Silvio, see POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 53-5.

(46) *Chronographia*, VII (Michael VII), 9 (Renauld, II, 177), ... *ἀρκεῖ αὐτῇ ἀντὶ πάντων τὸ ἦθος οἷον οὐχ ἑτέρας ἕξεως, καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἷον οὐχ ἑτέρας ὄψεως ... αὐτομάτως καλλίων τυγχάνουσα ἢ ὁπότε ἀναγκαίως ἔχοι κοσμήσασθαι*; trans. SEWTER, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, 372). Maria of Alania, or more properly of Abasgia, was actually a Georgian princess, Alania lying to the north of Georgia, along the river Terek, and

from this statement of Psellos' that not only were all empresses supposed to be beautiful, but that there were cosmetics and accessories, widely and commonly employed, to assist them in this aim. The ultimate flattery, therefore, was to be portrayed as an empress who had no need of such artificial help but could sustain the role and its splendour unaided.

Psellos, whose descriptions are supported to a degree by the evidence of other contemporary historians, has thus given us in greater or lesser detail an idea of the appearance of all the female protagonists of *Chronographia*, and the degree to which they conformed to the canon of imperial female beauty, as well as to those of the noble birth, virtue and, sometimes, the intelligence and character, which were expected of royal women. His description, eulogistic or otherwise, of Maria of Alania, can be supplemented by another source biased in favour of this empress, that of the learned and ambitious Anna Komnena, who sees both Maria, mother of her young fiancé, Constantine Doukas (whose betrothal to Anna was broken off by Alexios I upon the birth of an heir to the throne, Anna living with the ex-empress according to Byzantine custom during the engagement), and her own mother, Eirene Doukaina, as resplendent, beauteous figures, well worthy of the imperial purple. Indeed, to Anna, beauty is of immense importance and she gives detailed descriptions of the personality and appearance of all her relations — parents, grandmother, fiancé, fiancé's mother, and husband, as well as of many other subsidiary characters (47). Whether or not Anna has given us accurate and life-like portraits of her family, it is certain that she is doing all in her power to enhance the memory of her royal parents and their imperial image, as well as all to do with her own standing and rank, and is, naturally, at pains to eulogise her father and his reign, and put her family in general (except her brother John) in the best possible light : Anna's unsuccess-

may have been a daughter of the Georgian ruler Bagrat IV (1027-72) and originally named Martha. For Maria and her political involvement, see Bernard LEIB, "Nicéphore III Botaniates (1078-1081) et Marie d'Alanie", in *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (1948)* (Paris, 1950), 129-40 ; POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 46 and 62f ; Margaret MULLETT, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-Basilissa Maria", in *Byzantinoslavica*, 45 (1984), 202-11.

(47) Georgina BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena. A Study* (Oxford, 1929), 57, "If Anna admired noble birth, hardly less did she admire beauty ; like a true Greek she almost makes a god of a handsome face and a well-made form".

ful attempt on the throne at her father's death, possibly with her mother's support, for which she was imprisoned in the convent of the Kecharitomene from 1118 until her death, her history being written in semi-retirement, naturally intensified her hatred and jealousy of her brother (48). Accordingly Anna shows us the idealisation of imperial dignity, rank and appearance in the persons of Maria of Alania, Eirene and Anna Dalassena, her grandmother.

Maria of Alania's beauty, as well as her rank, and the fact that because she was of foreign birth she had no relations at hand to interfere with government, was, it seems, one of the main reasons, quite apart from her outstanding beauty, put forward by the Caesar John Doukas why the usurping Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates should marry his predecessor's ex-wife, after Michael had been banished — not unhappily — to a monastery, in preference to any of the other obvious candidates, as for example, Eudokia Makrembolitissa or her daugher Zoe. An eleventh century enamel inscription represents the marriage of Maria and Michael VII, while the marriage of Maria and Nikephoros is portrayed in a manuscript of the homilies of John Chrysostom in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, in both cases Christ being shown as crowning the couple, laying his right hand on the emperor and his left on the empress (49). Anna's account of Maria and her activities suggests the truth of the reports of her intrigues with the Komnenoi brothers during the reign of her second husband, before Alexios' succession, and even of the possibility that her marriage (the third) to Alexios and his divorce of his young wife Eirene had been planned by the couple. The rumour, indeed, that Eirene had good

(48) On the possible dating of her death to 1153-5, see Robert BROWNING, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena", in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, 188, n. s. 8 (1962), 4 ; see CHONIATES, *Historia*, 4-11 (*CSHB*, 8-17) and ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xxviii-ix (*CSHB*, III, 759-65). For EIRENE DOUKAINA's typikon for the convent of Kecharitomene, see *MignePG*, 127, cols. 985-1127, and for the complex of dwellings and more sumptuous provision (including more relaxed conditions) made there for Eirene and her daughters, including Anna and Anna's daughter Eirene, see *ibid.*, IV and LXXIX, cols. 1008-12 and 1108-13, where the royal ladies have the privileges of, among other things, large courtyards, baths, their own servants, both male and female, and more privacy.

(49) *Alexiad*, III, 2, 5 (Leib, I, 108) ; see ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xix (*CSHB*. III, 723), according to whom Maria visited Michael when he was dying to ask his pardon for remarrying ; ANASTOS, "Vox Populi", 205f. For Maria's portraits, see J. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pls. 9-11, 70 and 74 ; POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 45f.

cause to be jealous of the ex-empress during the first years of her husband's reign, and the implication of Maria's later involvement in a plot against the emperor, may also have been not without foundation ([50]). But while the depiction of her character by Anna hardly matches that described so flatteringly by Psellos, the two sources agree about her charm and physical attractions, although both historians may have been less than detached in their account of her appearance. Anna, who describes her in detail, presents her as very tall, like a cypress tree, with snow-white skin (*λευκὴ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὡσεὶ χιών*), an oval face (*πρόσωπον κύκλον μὲν οὐκ ἀπαρτίζον*), and a complexion like a spring flower or rose (*τὸ δὲ χρῶμα δι' ὅλου ἄνθος ἠρινὸν ἢ ῥόδον ἄντικρυς*). Her eyes flashed indescribably, and her eyebrows were flame-coloured and arched over light blue eyes (*ὀφρῦς ὑπερανεστηκυῖα καὶ πυρσή, βλέμμα χαροπόν*), and her body was in perfect and harmonious proportion (*ἀναλογίαν γὰρ τοιαύτην μελῶν καὶ μερῶν, τοῦ ὅλου πρὸς τὰ μέρη καὶ τούτων πρὸς τὸ ὅλον*), while her beauty and grace and charm (*ἡ ἐπιλάμπουσα αὐτῇ χάρις καὶ τὸ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐπαγωγόν τε καὶ εὔχαρι*) baffled description and the creative skill of an artist, even the greatest classical sculptors like Apelles or Pheidias. Indeed, so beautiful was this living work of art (*ἄγαλμα ἔμψυχον καὶ ἀνθρώποις φιλοκάλοις ἐράσμιον*), who seemed to Anna like Love incarnate, that, like the Gorgon's head, she was capable of rooting to the spot and rendering speechless any who should happen to see or meet her ([51]).

Maria, whose career as empress — and later — was not without intrigue, and who seems to have retained the affection of Alexios for several years after his accession, may well have been (appropriately, indeed, for one who could well have become the mother-in-law of Anna Komnena, and with whom Anna lived for some years as a child, and whose mother-in-law, Eudokia, had been a lady of letters) the first of the "imperial, often widowed ladies" who patronised literary circles under the Komnenoi, and she had large estates under her control and possibly held her own "alternative" court at the Mangana palace, until her eventual, perhaps involuntary, retreat to monastic life c. 1094/5. Her scholarship and interest in letters appears beyond doubt, and, indeed, both Theophylact and Eustratios of Nicaea dedicated scholarly

(50) *Alexiad*, II, 1-3 ; III, 1-2 ; IX, 8, 2 (Leib, I, 63-71 and 103-10 ; II, 178f) ; *Chronographia*, VII (Michael VII), 9 (Renauld, II, 177) ; cf. also BRYENNIOS, *Historiarum Libri*, III, 25 (Gautier, 253f ; *CSHB*, 126f).

(51) *Alexiad*, III, 2, 4 (Leib, I, 107f ; trans. SEWTER, *Alexiad*, 107).

works to her and wrote pieces at her request, while Theophylact, to whom she was possibly a much-regarded patron, praised her in his "basilikos logos", the *Institutio Regia*, for her birth, piety, learning and theological studies — for she unendingly studied night and day the Word of the Lord —, as well as for her care and education of her son Constantine, and her philanthropy, moral tone and generosity, stressing particularly her moral and familial virtues along the lines rendered fashionable by the ladies of the Komnenoi, perhaps deliberately so in order to mitigate comment on Maria's earlier career (52).

As well as praising the beauty and dignity of her mother Eirene, Anna also takes pains to describe her maternal grandmother (Eirene's mother, Maria the protovestiaria, of Bulgarian royal descent, being the daughter of prince Trojan, and wife of Andronikos, the son of the Caesar John Doukas), as being endowed with such effortless beauty and perfect symmetry of face and form that no woman of the time was more lovely than her, to such an extent, indeed, that her charms led her sons-in-law during Alexios' coup to be especially concerned for her welfare. Maria, like Maria of Alania one of the first women of the Komnenian period to take an interest in letters, was known to the grammarian and panoplist Zigabenos, and Anna's husband Bryennios agrees with this picture of her as a beautiful and highly intelligent woman. Her description of Eirene, whom Anna portrays at the age of fourteen, at the time of Alexios' accession, is different in tone and approach, and primarily aimed at displaying the awesome regality and decorous dignity of Eirene's character and the fact that she was not only a perfect wife and mother but a perfect empress also and an ideal mate for Alexios in every respect. Eirene is described as upright and erect like a young evergreen sapling, with her body and all her limbs symmetrical and in proportion (*ἀνίστατο μὲν γὰρ καθάπερ τι ἔρνος ὄρθιον καὶ ἀειθαλὲς συμμέτρως καὶ πλατυνομένη καὶ στενουμένη καταλλήλως ἑκασταχοῦ τῶν μελῶν καὶ μερῶν*), and with her lovely appearance and charming voice (*καὶ ἐπέραστος μὲν ἰδεῖν, ἐπέραστος δὲ ἀκοῦσαι* ...) she never ceased to fascinate all who saw and heard her. Her complexion was delicate, shining with the soft light

(52) Margaret MULLETT, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople", in ANGOLD, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 173-201 ; *eadem*, "The 'Disgrace'", 205f ; THEOPHYLACT, "Institutio Regia", VI-XIII, in *MignePG*, 126, col. 265, *τὸ δὲ φιλομαθὲς ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπόληψιν. Ταύτην, ποία βίβλος καὶ τῶν πεπυκνωμένων καὶ στιβαρῶν διέφυγε, ποῖον δὲ πατρῷον διήγημα* ; and cf. 257-65.

of the moon, and her face was neither round like the Assyrians nor long like the Scyths but slightly oval in shape (... *ὑπεχαλᾶτο μικρόν πως τῆς ἀκριβείας τοῦ κύκλου*). The rose colour of her cheeks (*ἀνεπέπτατο δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ λειμὼν ἀπὸ τῶν παρειῶν καὶ τὴν ῥοδωνιὰν ...*) was visible at a distance and generally she accompanied her words with graceful gestures, her hands bare to the wrists, and her hands looking as if sculpted from ivory. Her light blue eyes were both gay and stern (*ὄμμα δὲ χαροπὸν καὶ σὺν ἡδονῇ φοβερὸν ἐνητένιζεν*), and of a brilliant blue resembling a calm, still sea (... *θάλατταν ἐμιμεῖτο γαληνιῶσαν ἐν βαθυκύμονι διαθέσει τὸ κυανοῦν ἐξαυγάχουσα*), while the white of the eyes possessed a peculiar lustre and a charm. Despite this beauty and attraction, the fear which these eyes caused so dazzled the bystander that he could neither look nor turn away, and Anna is concerned to stress her mother's majesty and awefulness, indeed her semi-divine qualities, which resulted in her unapproachable splendour :

> ... if someone in those times had said of this empress that she was Athena made manifest to the human race, or that she had descended from the sky in some heavenly glory and unapproachable splendour, his description would not have been so very inappropriate. What was rather surprising — and in this she differed from all other women — was the way she humbled swaggerers, but when they were subdued and fearful restored their courage by a single glance. For the most part her lips were closed and when thus silent she resembled a veritable statue of Beauty, a breathing monument of Harmony (... *ἐδείκνυ σιγῶσαν, ἔμπνουν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγαλμα καλλονῆς καὶ στήλην ἔμβιον εὐρυθμίας*) (53).

Her son-in-law Bryennios also describes her at her marriage to Alexios, as a girl of twelve, in less specific terms : *καὶ γὰρ ἦν χαρίτων ἡ νεᾶνις ἀνάπλεως, ὥρᾳ τε σώματος διαλάμπουσα καὶ ἠθῶν ἀγλαΐαις* (54).

(53) For Maria, see *Alexiad*, II, 6, 3, *κάλλους δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπισυρομένης καὶ εὐαρμοστίας μελῶν καὶ μερῶν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν φανῆναι κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὴν ταύτης ὡραιοτέραν* ; XV, 9, 1 (Leib, I, 80f ; III, 223) ; BRYENNIOS, *Historiarum Libri*, III, 6 (Gautier, 219-21 ; *CSHB*, 106f), ... *καὶ τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν γυναικῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμευνέτιδος, ἧς τῷ ἔξωθεν κάλλει τὸ ἐντὸς ξυνεξέλαμπε κάλλος καὶ τῇ περιφανείᾳ τοῦ γένους αἱ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀγλαΐαι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἠθῶν κοσμιότης συνήστραπτε* ; POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 58 ; for Eirene, see *Alexiad*, III, 3, 3-4 (Leib, I, 111f ; trans. SEWTER, *Alexiad*, 110f). According to KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, 113, the *Commentaries* of Bryennios have an embryonic erotic romance as their plot, featuring Alexios and Eirene as the representatives of two rival aristocratic families.

(54) BRYENNIOS, III, 6 (Gautier, 221 ; *CSHB*, 107). For a twelfth century portrait of Eirene in enamel and her appearance on a rare type of coin, see POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 74.

Eirene's role as cultural patroness after Alexios' death, after which she lived in the convent of Kecharitomene, her own foundation, is shown by her relationship with both George Tornikes and Michael Italikos among others, and her circle seems to have encouraged the reading aloud of letters and the improvisation of speeches ; she commissioned Bryennios' history of her husband and several poems, as well as holding a literary circle or *theatron*, though her own learning and literary interests seem, like those of the majority of imperial women, not to have gone beyond the perusal of theological and scriptural volumes, her favourite reading being the works of Maximos the Confessor (55).

The features which comprise imperial beauty and the proper characteristics of an empress are thus clear from the portraits of empresses whom Anna knew intimately. Anna compares both her parents and Maria of Alania to the works of great sculptors or artists, and demonstrates the Byzantines' canons of beauty and charm. She praises height and erect stature, symmetry of figure and limbs is essential in her view, and the subject should show majesty, unapproachability and dignity. Eyes should be blue, surmounted by arching eyebrows and capable of inspiring fear or respect at a glance, the face should be oval in shape, hair fair or red-gold, and the complexion should be white with "rose-tinted" cheeks (56). Anna nowhere in her history describes her own appearance, preferring to stress her own scholastic achievements and merely referring the reader who wishes a physical description of her to the attendants of the women's quarters in the palace, but from the funeral oration by Tornikes — "one of the few eye-witness descriptions of living persons in Byzantine literature" — she appears to have preserved her rosy complexion into her seventies, although the description is stereotyped enough in format and content to have pleased Anna herself, who, despite her proverbial and atypical education and learned patronage of a philosophical circle, was doubtless not averse to having her appearance praised in suitably flattering terminology, and Prodromos, indeed, in his epithalamium on the marriage of Anna's two sons, John and Alexios, to two Georgian princesses in 1122, also combines his praise of her philosophizing intellect and her regal appearance,

(55) *Alexiad*, V, 9, 2-3 ; XII, 3, 2 (Leib, II, 37f ; III, 60) ; MULLETT, "Aristocracy and Patronage", 175-9.

(56) BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena*, 57f ; HEAD, "Physical Descriptions", 237, "all of the Komnenoi, it seems, were dark-complexioned, although the typical Byzantine tended to think fair skin much handsomer", both for men and for women.

considering her a fourth Grace and a tenth Muse, while his eulogisitic poem *Εἰς τὴν σοφωτάτην πορφυρογέννητον καὶ καισάρισσαν κυρὰν Ἄνναν τὴν Δούκαιναν* flatters her learning by amusingly stressing his own incompetence. Tornikes includes in his portrait of Anna large, light blue, sparkling eyes (*ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μεγέθους ὑπαυγάζοντες χαροπόν*), quick to respond and delineating a lively mind, but not moving more than necessary, well-arched eyebrows (*ὀφρύες ὡς τόξον ἴριδος*), a slightly curved and broadish nose, red lips and rosy cheeks (*ὄχθους δὲ τῶν μήλων ἐφοίνισσε ῥοδόχρουν ἐρύθημα*), a well rounded face "as if drawn by compasses" (*τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν ... εὔκυκλον εὔτορνον*), a long neck firmly positioned, well poised shoulders, light hands and feet, and well proportioned limbs, the whole body being perfectly tuned (*ὡς λύρα τις ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα ἢ ὡς κίθαρα συνηρμοσμένη, ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς ἀγαθὸν τεκτονηθὲν ὄργανον*) (57). This portrait of Anna shows the main physical characteristics to be expected in an Komnenian imperial princess, as well as the related spiritual and intellectual qualities, and Anna elsewhere confirms the necessity for the empress' aweful regality and reservation in her account of her mother, emphasizing her dislike of public life, and embarrassment and blushes when having to appear at some imperial ceremony ; her unwillingness to reveal her elbow, eyes or even voice to strangers, so extraordinary was her modesty ; and her ability to maintain decorum with just a look or silence, and remain totally inaccessible even when accompanying her husband on campaign. Theophylact, too, in his *Oration on Alexios* praises her as a worthy empress but concentrates primarily on her children rather than on any specific qualities of Eirene, while Prodromos's epithalamium on her grandchildren heavily stresses

(57) *Alexiad*, pr. 1 ; XV, 7, 9 ; XIV, 7, 3 (Leib, I, 3f ; III, 218 and 174) ; BROWNING, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration", 5, and cf. 11 ; PRODROMOS, "Scripta Miscellanea", XXI, in *Migne PG*, 133, cols. 1401f ; HÖRANDNER, 377-81 (no. XXXVIII), (for which cf. D.-C. HESSELING & H. PERNOT, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910), 72-83) ; HÖRANDNER, 382-8 (no. XXXIX), where in an epitaph on the death of Theodora, Anna's daughter-in law, as well as stressing her grief at parting from her husband John and his brave deeds, she speaks of her own royal blood and her good fortune in having been transplanted to the splendour of imperial Byzantium, describing Anna as *τὸ Δουκικὸν θρύλλημα, τὴν σοφὴν Ἄνναν, / τὸν ἄντικρυς νοῦν, τὴν χαρίτων ἑστίαν, / τὸ λευκέρυθρον πορφυράνθητον ῥόδον* (lines 43-5) ; and for Anna's renowned scholarship and education, see also ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xxvi (*CSHB*, III, 754) and J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Démétrius Tornikès. Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 220-323, esp. 229f, 243-5 and 255.

her birth and rank. Zonaras and Choniates, however, present an entirely different picture of Eirene, her character and her aims, and it seems clear, even in Anna's narrative, that by the latter half of her husband's reign and after the retirement of her mother-in-law she wielded considerable influence, as in the resolution of the Anemas conspiracy, probably in 1105, while her daughter describes her as most approachable where objects of charity were concerned, for she allowed free access to all mendicants and beggars, and, apart from her liberality with money, considered the facts of and advised them upon their future prospects, in most un-Byzantine fashion encouraging all that were fit to find employment to do so and not depend upon charity (58). Eirene, addressed as *Δουκῶν ὁ λαμπτήρ, ἡ βασιλὶς Εἰρήνη*, features as the giver of an ornate cross in one of the poems of Nicholas Kallikles (59); Eirene's sister Anna, the wife of George Palaiologos, and her niece Eirene, daughter of her brother Michael and wife of the logothete Gregory Kamateros, as well as her own daughter Eudokia, were also amongst the noble women of her family who commissioned occasional poems from Kallikles or were commemorated in his works (60), while

(58) THEOPHYLACT of Bulgaria, "Oratio in Alexium Comnenum", in *Migne PG*, 126, col. 301, (Alexios) ... *ὅς γε καὶ μίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔστερξε τὴν καλὴν ἐν γυναιξί, τὴν βασιλείας ἀξίαν σύζυγον. Ὅθεν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα τῇ τοῦ γάμου ῥίζῃ καὶ τὰ βλαστήματα*); *Alexiad*, XII, 3, 2-3 and 6 (Leib, III, 60-2); PRODROMOS, "Scripta Miscellanea", XXI, col. 1400, ... *τὴν ἱερὰν ταυτηνὶ βασιλίδα τὴν φερώνυμον Εἰρήνην, τὸν Δουκικὸν ὄρπηκα, τὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν ὅλων Ῥωμαίων κρατήσασαν*; ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xxiv and xxvi (*CSHB*, III, 746f and 752); CHONIATES, *Historia*, 5-7 (*CSHB*, 8-11); *Alexiad*, XII, 6, 1-8 and 3, 9 (Leib, III, 71-4 and 63f).

(59) KALLIKLES, ed. Leo STERNBACH, "Nicolai Calliclis Carmina", in *Rosprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci Wydzial Filologiczny*, (ser. 2) 21 (1903), 319 (no. II) (= *Nicola Callicle, Carmi*, ed. Roberto ROMANO (Naples, 1980), 81, no. 6). Cf. *ibid.*, 120f (no. 35) for another dedicatory poem for Eirene, possibly written by Kallikles, after the death of Alexios, in which she is described (lines 11-13) as ... *χρυσενδύτις πρίν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ῥακενδύτις, / ἐν τριχίνοις νῦν ἡ τὸ πρὶν ἐν βυσσίνοις, / τὰ ῥάκια στέργουσα πορφύρας πλέον* ... .

(60) *Ibid.*, 321-5 and 332-4 (nos. VI-X, XIX and XXI; Romano, 83-8, 92f and 96f, nos. 9-13, 18 and 21); for Eudokia, wife of the son of Constantine Iasites, and the second youngest of Anna Komnena's sisters, who pre-deceased her mother Eirene, who is twice described as *Εὐδοκίας ... πορφύρας κλάδου*, see *ibid.*, 319 and 331 (nos. I and XVII-XVIII; Romano, 105 and 91f, nos. 26 and 16-7), two of these poems of Kallikles being written to accompany a gift of a cup to the emperor her father; cf. EIRENE, *Typikon*, LXXIX, cols. 1108f, and ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, 22 (*CSHB*, III, 739), for Eirene's dislike of her son-in-law for failing to treat his wife like a princess, and her insistence upon Eudokia's taking the veil when she fell ill, Iasites then being expelled from the palace. Eirene's second daughter Maria may also have commissioned a poem from Kallikles (Romano, 119f, no. 33). For poems written for Anna Doukaina,

Prodromos' poem to Eirene, on the death of her son the sevastokrator Andronikos, compares her to Niobe, Iocasta and Hecuba, and addresses her as ... *ὦ ἄνασσα μάκαιρα, θεουδέος ἔκγονε φύτλης, / εὔπαις εὐπατέρεια, μέγ' ἔξοχος ἀμφὶ ἀνάσσαις*, urging her to take comfort in her daughters and remaining relations, while in his epitaph for her grandson's wife, Theodora, he recalls her memory in glowing terms ([61]).

A similar majestic dignity of demeanour is attributed by Anna to her redoubtable grandmother, Anna Dalassena, Alexios' mother, the leading spirit behind his coup d'état in 1081, who in her youth was disappointed of the throne when her husband failed to succeed to the purple at his brother Isaac's abdication and who is perhaps the first of those ambitious and powerful women who feature so frequently in the works of twelfth century historians. Anna's involvement in politics prior to her son's accession was long and striking, her children's marriages were brilliantly arranged to ensure the greatest possible family influence, and her ambition may well have been the decisive factor in the Komnenian rise to power : she was certainly felt to be a threat to the government after the deposition of Romanos IV Diogenes and it was through her influence that the interests of her younger son Alexios were promoted over those of his elder brother Isaac. Anna Dalassena was certainly one of the powerful and ruthless women of the period, exemplified in historical descriptions of such empresses as Maria of Alania, Anna's daughter-in-law Eirene, her granddaughter Anna Komnena, Eirene the sevastokratorissa, and others up to and including Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina ([62]). Bryennios, in his history of the Komnenoi, which his wife was to continue, describes how Anna, enraged that her husband John would not accept the throne

wife of Alexios Palaiologos, and Anna, wife of John Arvantinis, see KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 337 and 340f (nos. XXIII and XXVI ; Romano, 100f and 104f, nos. 23 and 26), and for Eirene and her female relations, see POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 70-9.

(61) HÖRANDNER, 185-8 (no. II), lines 86f ; *ibid.*, 383 (no. XXXIX), lines 38-41, *τὴν παμβόητον ἐν γυναιξὶν Εἰρήνην, / τὴν πρὸς δόσεις ἄβυσσον ἀχανεστάτην, / τὴν ἀρεταῖς στέψασαν αὐτὸ τὸ στέφος, / τὴν τῶν παθῶν δέσποιναν* ..., and cf. lines 169f ; for her appearance in Prodromos' poems on her son Isaac and on the marriage of her grandson Alexios, son of her daughter Maria and Nikephoros Phorbenos, see *ibid.*, 397 (no. XLII), line 31, and 399 (no. XLIII), lines 7f.

(62) *Alexiad*, II, 5 ; II, 1, 4 (Leib, I, 75-9 and 64f) ; BRYENNIOS, *Historia*, I, 6 and 22 (Gautier, 85f and 129f ; *CSHB*, 23-5 and 48-50). KAZHDAN & CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, 113, "Twelfth-century authors ... created a series of female images of another kind : fond of power, ambitious, and bold enough to emulate men" ; Paul LEMERLE, *Cinq Études sur le xr^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 297f.

at the abdication of his brother Isaac I in 1059, like her sister-in-law Aikaterina, did everything possible to persuade her husband to change his mind. The fact that this is essentially a family history must imply that the account is fairly close to the truth — in fact, may be more flattering perhaps than otherwise. Anna Komnena certainly praises her grandmother for her intellect even as quite a young woman (... *θαῦμα ἄντικρυς ἦν πολιὸν ἐν νεαρᾷ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπιδεικνυμένη φρόνημα*), stating that her face revealed to the observant her inherent virtue and gravity, and may possibly have this incident in mind, stressing also that she was a persuasive, concise and felicitous orator and of great experience and perception in public affairs (63). It seems clear from Psellos, however, who describes Isaac's arrogance even towards his brother (Isaac had no son to succeed him), that there was no serious rival to Constantine Doukas (64). Anna Dalassena, to compensate for the family's loss of imperial status, was not, therefore, slow in persuading her sons to aim at power, and once it was attained, according to Anna Komnena, her grandmother, despite the bitter animosity between her and the influential Doukas family, was the real ruler during Alexios' first year in power and usurped the role of the great and influential eunuch administrators, with the total consent of her son under whom "... l'empire est devenu une affaire de famille administré en famille" (65). She employed her own secretary, Gregory Genesios, to deal with state business, petitions and the appointment of magistrates, nor does her granddaughter in any way attempt to play down her influence :

(63) BRYENNIOS, *Historia*, I, 4-5 (Gautier, 83 ; *CSHB*, 22), *Τίς ἡ ἐπιβλαβὴς αὕτη φιλοσοφία καὶ ἄκαιρος μετριοφροσύνη* ; ... *Ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων εἰποῦσα – ἦν γὰρ δεινή τις καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν —, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔπειθε, πρὸς ἱκεσίαν ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰς διὰ δακρύων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐντεύξεις προσέφερεν* ; *Alexiad*, III, 7, 3 (Leib, I, 124). For the visit of St. Cyril the Phileote to Anna c. 1071, their theological discussion and her generosity, see *La Vie de St. Cyrille le Philéote Moine Byzantin*, ed. and trans. Etienne SARGOLOGOS (Subsidia Hagiographia 39 ; Brussels, 1964), 90-4 (ch. 17).

(64) *Chronographia*, VII (Isaac Komnenos), 71, 83 and 89 (Renauld, II, 128, 133f and 136f) ; in fact it seems unlikely that John would have been able to command sufficient support and he was present at Isaac's "death-bed" scene, when Isaac nominated Constantine Doukas as his successor and entrusted the care of his family (including John and his son) to him.

(65) LEMERLE, *Cinq Études*, 263 ; *Alexiad*, III, 6-8 ; for her godly advice to Alexios after his accession see *ibid.*, III, 5, 4-5 (Leib, I, 119-27) and for her earlier insistence that he always be accompanied on campaign by a monk, see *ibid.*, I, 8, 2 (Leib, I, 32) ; BRYENNIOS, IV, 21 (Gautier, 289 ; *CSHB*, 150) ; *La Vie de St. Cyrille le Philéote*, 233f (ch. 47).

> "Her outward serenity, true reflection of character, was respected by angels but terrorized even the demons, and pleasure-loving fools, victims of their own passions, found a single glance from her more than they could bear : yet to the chaste she seemed gentle and gay. She knew exactly how to temper reserve and dignity ... and this, I fancy, is the true definition of propriety : the due proportion of warm humanity and strict moral principle" (66).

The report of her death (c. 1102) in the Alexiad is perfunctory, and she seems to have fallen from favour, perhaps after association with a heretical sect, or having alienated a powerful section of the aristocracy by her hard-line political policies, and to have been forced into a convent (67).

The historians Psellos, Bryennios and Anna Komnena had personal acquaintance, to a greater or lesser degree, with the subjects of their history, and thus their portraits are realistic and vivid, whatever their reliability as historical evidence for the character and appearance of empresses of the time. Later writers lay the same stress on personal appearance in their descriptions of the empress-consort, but these can appear perfunctory and conventional since they are in general less well-informed and seldom at first-hand. Piroshka-Eirene, daughter of St. Ladislas of Hungary and Adelheid of Rheinfelden, was the wife of John II Komnenos, who paid tribute to her influence and assistance in his *typikon* for the Monastery of the Pantokrator, and who, in a poem of Kallikles celebrating the dedication of an icon of Christ to the monastery, speaks of their partnership as being cut in two by death, and fervently anticipates their reunion (68). Piroshka is portrayed

(66) *Alexiad*, III, 8, 3 (Leib, I, 126), ... *ἀλλὰ περὶ ἡδονὰς ἐπτοημένοις ἀνύποιστος καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ βλέμματος, τοῖς δ' αὖ γε σωφροσύνης ἐπιμελουμένοις ἱλαρά τε καὶ προσηνής. Μέτρα γὰρ ἔγνω κατηφείας καὶ σεμνότητος ... καὶ ὅρον, οἶμαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι κοσμιότητος, κραθέντος τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναστήματι* ; trans. SEWTER, *Alexiad*, 121. See also THEOPHYLACT, "Oratio in Alexium Comnenum", cols. 301f, for her piety and reorganization of the palace, and her power within the imperial family and government.

(67) *Alexiad*, VI, 7, 5 (Leib, II, 59) ; ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVIII, xxi and xxiv (*CSHB*, III, 731f and 746) ; see also Steven RUNCIMAN, "The End of Anna Dalassena", in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* (hence *AIPHO*), 9 (1949), 517-24.

(68) Ann Wharton EPSTEIN, "Formulas for Salvation : a Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and Their Founders", in *Church History*, 50 (1981), 385-400 ; Paul GAUTIER, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator", in *REB*, 32 (1974), 1-147 ; Marguerite MATHIEU, "Cinq poésies byzantines des XIe et XIIe siècles", in *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 140-2 ; M. ZINOJINOVIC, "Slovenski Prolog Zhitija Carice Irine",

in full imperial regalia with her husband and Alexios, their eldest son, in a mosaic in the south gallery of St. Sophia, where she appears to have long and luxuriant auburn hair, but despite the fact that she left four sons and four daughters, dying in 1134, she received but scant description in the sources, and Kinnamos considers her to have been not only a chaste and extremely virtuous woman, but a moderate and prudent empress, who used the resources pertaining to her as empress neither for extravagant expenditure and luxurious ornaments for herself nor for the aggrandisement of her children, but for the benefit of the needy ([69]). Choniates' history, though beginning with the death of Alexios I, does not mention Piroshka or her marriage to John II, though a poem written by Theodore Prodromos to celebrate the crowning of her eldest son Alexios, at the age of sixteen in 1122, borrows from the Psalms of David to describe her as *τὴν ἀρχικὴν περιβολὴν ἐμπεριβεβλημένη / πεποικιλμένη θαυμαστῶς ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσίου*, and the poet, who gives pride of place to Piroshka in this work, urges her to forget her people, her father's house and her homeland (Piroshka being, of course, only the second foreign-born empress of this period) and congratulating her, as a living moon, (*ζῶσα σελήνη καὶ καλὴ πλήρει φωτὸς ἡλίῳ*) on no longer shining in the northern regions washed by Ocean but on now continuously radiating the Byzantine world, eulogizing her on her beauty, race and virtue as "mistress of all the nations of the West", who are specifically enumerated as being in subjection to Hungary, and later employing the much-utilised phrase for foreign-born empresses that she was nurtured by "Julius Caesars" (an expression later used for Bertha-Eirene and by Choniates for Margaret of Hungary). Prodromos, who exhorts her to love and embrace her husband and praises her as the mother of good sons, calls her the daughter of "Old Rome", and envisages her as attended and honoured by senate and people, while according to

in *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta*, 8 (1964), 483-92 ; KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 327 (no. XII ; Romano, 79, no. 2), lines 28-32, ... *συζυγίαν κραθεῖσαν εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν, / ἣν θάνατος διεῖλεν εἰς μέρη δύο, / ἡμίτομον λιπών με καὶ νεκρὸν πλέον. / ἕνωσον αὐτὸς αὖθις, οἷς οἶδας τρόποις, / δοὺς τὴν Ἑδὲμ σχοίνισμα καὶ κληρουχίαν* ; and cf. *ibid.*, 351f (no. XXX ; Romano, 116, no. 31), lines 110-9, for her description in John's funeral elegy, written at his request, and 341f (no. XXVII ; Romano, 106, no. 28), for his elegy upon her tomb.

(69) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, I, 4 (*CSHB*, 9-10), *σωφρονεστάτην τε εἴπερ τινὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μεταποιουμένην ... οὔτε περιττότητι κόσμων ἠνάλωσε καὶ τρυφῇ.*

Kallikles, who emphasizes that her pious virtues outshone her rank and plendour, her marriage to John united the Eastern and Western Empires ([70]). Prodromos' short epitaph for the empress stresses her descent, family and husband's victories and describes how before her death she left off her imperial regalia for the monastic habit, while his epitaph for Joh, spoken in the persona of the emperor himself, mentions Piroshka only in the following terms in the context of their family : *ἐκ γὰρ ἀνάσσης δυσμικοῦ παντὸς γένους / διπλῆν ἐτεκνούργησα σεμνὴν τετράδα / τέτταρας υἱους* ..., which suggests that the Byzantine populace never forgot, and perhaps were unable to forget, Piroshka's origins ([71]).

Of Piroshka's daughters-in-law, the two who feature most in contemporary sources were naturally the wives of her youngest son, the emperor Manuel I Komnenos, both of whom were of foreign birth, and the degree to which splendour and appearance were of intrinsic importance for women of the imperial family is shown by an incident concerning Dobrodjeja, daughter of Mstislavs, and Russian-born wife of John and Piroshka's eldest son, Alexios, upon the arrival of the first of these, Bertha-Eirene of Sulzbach, at Constantinople in 1142. The anecdote confirms the resplendence of garb and ornamentation which was usual to women of the imperial family in Byzantium, for the fact that Dobrodjeja, with her jewelry and other ornaments, was wearing a robe of dark purple linen made her stand out so much from the rest of the imperial women because of the sombreness and simplicity of her garb (*'τὸ τοῦ βύσσου κυαναυγὲς μελαμφόρον'*) that Bertha thought her to be a nun ([72]).

(70) HÖRANDNER, 179f (no. I), lines 48f and 62, and cf. lines 47-113 (where her subjects are said to include Germans, Dacians, Dalmatians, Lombards, Calabrians, Genoese and Sicilians) and 229 (no. VII), lines 6f, *Ἰούλιοι Καίσαρες ἐθρέψαντό με / καὶ καλλονῆς χάριτες ἐστέψαντό με*, a stock phrase, which shows too how little the Byzantines really knew — or cared — about the realities of power in Western Europe ; KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 342 (no. XXVII ; Romano, *loc. cit.*), lines 8-10, *τὸ μίγμα καινόν, τὰς δύο σκηπτουχίας / εἰς ἓν συνῆψεν · ὢ καλῆς ἁπληστίας ! / ὡς δυνατόν, μετέσχεν, ἰδού, τῶν δύο* ; and, for her piety, see *ibid.*, lines 4-7, *τὸν πορφυροῦν χιτῶνα τῆς ἁλουργίδος / ἀσκητικοῖς ἱδρῶσιν ἐμβεβαμμένον, / τῷ χρυσομαργάρῳ δὲ τοῦ κράτους στέφει / ἐξ ἀρετῶν πήγνυσι λαμπρὸν λυχνίτην* ; see also MATHIEU, "Cinq poésies", 141f. For Margaret of Hungary, see *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN (*CFHB*, Berlin, 1972), 36 and 40.

(71) HÖRANDNER, 229f (no. VII), lines 21f, *τέλος λιποῦσα τὸ στέφος, τὴν πορφύραν, / τὸ βύσσινον πόρπημα, τὴν ἁλουργίδα*, and 338 (no. XXV), lines 95f ; cf. *ibid.*, 234 (no. VIII), lines 11-19 for his grief at her loss.

(72) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, II, 4 (*CSHB*, 36 ; trans. BRAND, *Deeds of John and*

Bertha's lack of tact and her opinionated and unfrivolous nature, as well as her neglect of her appearance in not using the artificial aids to beauty normally employed by Byzantine imperial women — and it can be assumed that her complexion and appearance, unlike Psellos' Maria of Alania, obviously needed the help of cosmetics — were factors which caused the emperor to turn his attention elsewhere, and even the most well-disposed historians are forced to pay tribute not to her physical attractions but to her great prudence, propriety and open-handed charity. It is clear that her neglect of her appearance and her refusal to use make-up set her aside from other empresses and imperial women : according to Choniates she disdained "face powder, eye liner, and eyeshadow underneath the eye, and rouge instead of nature's flush, and ascribing such aids to silly women, she was adorned by the virtues to which she was devoted ... Consequently, the emperor was not very attentive to her ...". It is tempting to assume that this was one of the reasons why Manuel delayed his marriage, planned by John II originally when Manuel was the youngest of his four sons. Bertha, sister-in-law of the German Emperor Conrad III, may not have seemed a good enough alliance once Manuel became emperor, and the wedding only took place in January 1146, three years after his accession in April 1143. The alliance was celebrated in the politically-oriented ceremonial verse (*εἰσιτήριοι*) of the court poet Prodromos to celebrate Bertha's arrival, commanding New Rome now to rejoice at its headship over Old Rome through this union of Bertha and Manuel ; he mentions her family and western origins, specifically including "the distinguished Conrad", and describes Bertha as the best of women and of outstanding beauty, and congratulates her on her good fortune in being brought like a vine by the emperor to be transplanted into such a glorious and luxurious setting in the imperial gardens. Elsewhere, akin to Kallikles' depiction of the significance of Piroshka's union with John II, Bertha's marriage to Manuel is described as the union of Old and New Rome, and her birth, including her descent from "Julius Caesars", is suitably lauded (73). Prodromos' verses, not surprisingly,

Manuel Comnenus, 37), *ἠμφίεστο δὲ ἐσθῆτα μὲν ἀπὸ βύσσου, τἆλλα δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας κεκόσμητο*. The incident was taken to be a bad omen by the bystanders, especially as Dobrodjeja's husband Alexios died in Attaleia later that year in July/August. For Dobrodjeja-Eirene see also Codex Marcianus 524 (hence *Codex Marc.*), ed. Sp. LAMBROS, "*Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς Κῶδιξ* 524', in *NE*, 8 (1911), 152f (no. 235).

(73) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 53f (*CSHB*, 72f), *αὕτη μέντοι οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῦ σωματικοῦ*

dwell far more upon the rank and nobility of Manuel than on Bertha and her lineage, and even Kinnamos, a eulogist in all to do with Manuel and his reign, can only describe her as a girl related to kings who was not inferior to any of her contemporaries in propriety of character and piety, and who greatly outshone others of her time in prudence, propriety and mercy towards the needy (74). It was not surprising therefore, that "consequently, the emperor was not very attentive to her, but she shared in the honors, bodyguard, and remaining imperial splendours ; in matters of the bed, however, she was wronged" (75). Nevertheless, her funeral oration, written by Basil of Ochrid, which presents her in the most flattering and eulogistic of terms, contradicts, however unconvincingly, the evidence of other contemporary sources, describing the imperial couple as united in mutual affection and commitment, Manuel and indeed the entire empire as being totally unconsolable at the loss of such a lady, and Bertha as being the most excellent of all empresses, whether Byzantine born or foreign, and of outstanding appearance, so striking that it dazzled the populace on her arrival (76). Nor, according to this account, did she possess the arrogance and superciliousness which the orator strongly emphasizes as a characteristic of her race generally, but was noted instead for her humility, modesty and piety. Basil carefully ignores the delay which

κάλλους ἐφρόντιζεν, ὅσον τοῦ ἔνδον καὶ περὶ ψυχὴν ἐπεμέλετο ... ; HÖRANDNER, 320f (no. XX), and, for Bertha's name in acclamations coupled with that of Manuel, and her prayer of thanksgiving to the Theotokos on Manuel's behalf, see *ibid.*, 364, 367 and 369-71 (nos. XXXI a, XXXII c, XXXIII b and c, and XXXIV). For Bertha's descent see *Codex Marc.*, 152 (no. 233), lines 6-10, *Ἦν Ἀλαμανῶν εὐγενεῖς ῥῆγες γένους / φύουσι παῖδες καισάρων Ἰουλίων, / ἄναξ ἑαυτῷ Μανουὴλ δὲ συνδέει / ... Ῥώμης παλαιᾶς εἰς ἕνωσιν καὶ νέας* ; her goodwill is also implored in a poem to an ikon of the Theotokos by Nikolaos Mesopotamites, *ibid.*, 185 (no. 366).

(74) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, II, 4, *... ἠθῶν δὲ κοσμιότητι καὶ ψυχικαῖς ἀρεταῖς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσω τῶν τότε γεγενημένην* ; V, 1 (*CSHB*, 36 and 202). Cf. her public appreciation of Manuel's chivalric image, *ibid.*, III, 5 (*CSHB*, 99f).

(75) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 54 (*CSHB*, 73 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 32). For Manuel's many affairs, especially that of long-standing with his niece Theodora, his brother Andronikos' daughter, see esp. *ibid.*, 54 and 204 (*CSHB*, 73 and 266).

(76) V. E. REGEL & N. I. NOVOSADSKIJ, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum Saeculi XII Orationes Politicae*, I (1-2) (St. Petersburg, 1892 ; repr. Leipzig, 1982), XX, 314-16, *Ἔστης ποτὲ καὶ σὺ ὡς κυπάριττος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀνακτόρων, πυκάζουσα ταῦτα καὶ ὡραΐζουσα τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος ἀναδρομῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν μελῶν καὶ μερῶν εὐρυθμίᾳ σὺν εὐχροίᾳ καὶ ἄνθει κινοῦσα πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἡδονῆς καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναίσθητα · ... συνέρρει δὲ πανδημεὶ ὁ λαός, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεθαμβοῦντό σου οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ὁρᾶν ὑποπτεύοντες, ἀλλὰ θεῖόν τι καὶ τεράστιον ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ μορφῇ καθορώμενον.*

took place before the marriage was celebrated, but confirms the historians' account of Bertha's disinterest in adornments and her inner virtue which far outweighed her external magnificence (77). An intellectual, or at least one who wished to be considered so, Bertha, who apparently maintained contact with her own family unlike other imperial brides, was interested in Greek culture and liked to appear an enthusiastic patron of demotic literature, by the time of the Second Crusade's stay in Constantinople in 1147 being presumably competent in Greek. She commissioned works such as Tzetzes' *Allegories of the Iliad* in simple Greek verse and seems to have suggested the verse form to the poet, though without giving precise instructions for the content. The work was incomplete on her death (78). Manuel badly wanted an heir, as is seen in the incident at which the deposed Patriarch Kosmas is said to have cursed the empress' womb so it should not bear a son, to Manuel's great distress, but Bertha gave birth to two girls, one of whom, Anna, died at the age of four years. At Bertha's death in late 1159 or early 1160, while grieving bitterly according to custom, "looking upon her demise as if a limb had been torn from his body, and his lamentation was like the roar of a lion", and giving her a magnificent burial (79), Manuel was concerned to remarry as soon as

(77) *Ibid.*, 311-30, esp. 316-25 ; *ibid.*, 322f, *καὶ δὴ ἐκεκόσμητο μὲν βασιλικῶς ἡ βασίλισσα καὶ ἅμα τῆς ἡμέρας ἀξίως ... ἐμὲ δὲ οὐχ ἡ ἔξω βασίλισσα, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔνδον ἐξέπληττεν, οὐχ ὁ περίαπτος κόσμος, ἀλλ' ἡ ἔμφυτος κοσμιότης ἐπέστρεφεν, οὐχ ἡ ποικίλη περιβολή, ἡ δὲ πολλὴ τοῦ φρονήματος συστολὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν φαινομένων τῇ αἰσθήσει ἀπατηλῶν ὡς εὐτελῶν περιφρόνησις*. The poem of "Manganeios" PRODROMOS, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Grecs* (hence *R. H. C. Gr.*), II (Paris, 1881), 756, may refer to either Bertha of Mary of Antioch (lines 94f, *Ἄγαλμα κόρης ῥηγινῆς τῆς ἐκ Καισάρων γένους, / Τῆς ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ σεπτῶν ἡρώων Ἰουλίων ...*).

(78) Elizabeth M. JEFFREYS, "The Comnenian Background to the "romans d'antiquité", in *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 472f ; Michael J. JEFFREYS, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse", in *DOP*, 28 (1974), 151, summarizes the introduction of more than 1200 lines : the Allegories begin with an extended metaphor of the Empress as the moon, wishing to illumine Homer ; he first offers her a translation of the Iliad, then a precis, and asks for large rewards because a precis will require much research ; he seems to be increasingly impatient with her silence and her lack of specific directions, particularly by the end of the introduction. She died between bks. XV and XVI, and Constantine Kotertzes came forward eventually as a new sponsor. TZETZES addressed the work to her as *τῇ κραταιοτάτῃ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ ὁμηρικωτάτῃ κύρᾳ Εἰρήνῃ τῇ ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν* (Petrus MATRANGA, *Anecdota Graeca*, I (2) (Rome, 1850 ; repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1971), 43). Cf. P. A. M. LEONE, *Ioannes Tzetzes Epistulae* (Leipzig, 1972), 79-84 (no. 57) disputing his payment for the Allegories.

(79) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 80-2 (*CSHB*, 106-8) ; *ibid.*, 115 (*CSHB*, 151 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 65). For a celebratory work on Anna's baptism, see *Codex Marc.*, 45-7 (no. 84).

possible, if for no other reason than the immediate necessity of having a son and heir, though naturally he showed all due conventional decorum at the death of his consort, the details of their relationship notwithstanding. In place of a legitimate heir Alexios, his illegitimate son by his niece Theodora, was named Caesar and sevastokrator and in 1165/66 he fixed the succession on his daughter Maria and her fiancé Béla of Hungary in default of a legitimate male heir ([80]).

By luck, rather than by judgement perhaps, Manuel's second wife was genuinely to embody the qualities of physical beauty which the Byzantines expected in their empress. Mary (Xene) of Antioch, one of the daughters of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance of Antioch, whom Manuel married in St. Sophia on Christmas Day 1161, was of outstanding appearance, like the laughter-loving Aphrodite or one of the other goddesses of ancient times ([81]). Kinnamos implies in fact that Mary was chosen specifically for her beauty, after relating an apocryphal tale that Melisend, sister of Raymond III of Tripoli, had been Manuel's first choice, but that an extended illness had prevented her embarking for Constantinople, during which it was discovered that she was actually of illegitimate birth, and thus unsuitable for a Byzantine empress. The envoy Kamateros was then sent to Antioch, and he picked out the younger, Mary, as the more beautiful of the two sisters, and so dazzling was her appearance that her escort were astounded, as were the Byzantines as a whole, who were wont to say that their time had never yet been acquainted with such beauty (*τηλίκον γὰρ κάλλος οὔπω, Βυζάντιοι ἔλεγον, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγνώρισεν αἰών*). Constantine Manasses, too, one of Mary's escort, described in detail her radiant beauty, so dazzling that it lit up the gloom of her dwelling and astonished the onlooker into thinking her to be a thunderbolt or the full moon fallen to earth : her skin was white as snow or marble, she was blond, of good complexion, symmetrical of figure and upright

(80) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 137 (*CSHB*, 179).

(81) *Ibid.*, 116 (*CSHB*, 151 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 66), *ἦν δὲ καλὴ τὸ εἶδος ἡ γυνή, καὶ λίαν, καὶ ἕως σφόδρα καλὴ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀξύμβλητος* ... ; KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, V, 4 (*CSHB*, 210) ; CHONIATES, *Historia*, 115f,. 269, and 332f (*CSHB*, 151, 348f and 433) ; EUSTATHIOS, *Eustathios of Thessaloniki. The Capture of Thessaloniki*, 14, ed. and trans. John R. Melville JONES (Canberra, 1988), 18 (= *De Thessalonica Capta*, ed. B. G. NIEBUHR (*CSHB*, Bonn, 1842), 380f) ; CONSTANTINE MANASSES, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses", ed. Konstantin HORNA, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hence *BZ*), 13 (1904), 330. For Mary's attractions, see also CHONIATES, *Historia*, 224 (*CSHB*, 292f) and cf. *ibid.*, 332f (*CSHB*, 432f).

in stature ; her hair was thick and of a deep gold, her eyebrows well rounded, her eyelids well-shaped, her glance gentle and gleaming, her lips red, her mouth well-drawn, (if she smiled just a little her beauty was quite overpowering), her nose well-turned allowing her to breathe freely, her movement and gait easy and measured, and her manner calm and most fitting ; her family seems to have been generally handsome, for Philippa of Antioch, Mary's sister, who in 1167 was bewitched by Andronikos Komnenos' charms to Manuel's disgust, was also attractive and comely ([82]). Mary was, in fact, a more favourable match than Melisend, and as a result the negotiations with Tripoli were deliberately broken off, though Kinnamos describes Melisend too as outstanding in beauty and of radiant appearance, as if such charms were considered to be an essential quality for any potential Byzantine empress, while William of Tyre describes at length Manuel's "jilting" of Melisend and the ill feeling it aroused, portraying her as a maiden of fine character and ability, and listing in detail the trousseau that was prepared for her as the future empress of Byzantium by her mother, aunt, brother and friends. This injustice to Melisend led to Raymond's vengeful and ferocious attacks on the Byzantine empire in retaliation for his sister's rejection ([83]). Such praise of Mary's beauty is the more remarkable, as she was greatly disliked by the Byzantines, particularly once she had become regent for her young son Alexios II after Manuel's death, when she was accused of having an affair with her chief minister, the protosevastos, Manuel's nephew. Unpopular with the people as a whole, the opposition against her was championed vigorously by her step-daughter Maria (Kaisarissa) ([84]). The praise of her appearance is there-

(82) For her attractiveness, see CHONIATES, *Historia*, 139 (*CSHB*, 181f).

(83) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, V, 4 (*CSHB*, 208-10) ; MANASSES, "Hodoiporikon", 330f ; WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia*, XVIII, 31 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 874f) ; trans. Emily Atwater BABCOCK & A. C. KREY, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, II, (New York, 1943), 289, "... bracelets, earrings, pins for her head-dress, anklets, rings, necklaces, and tiaras of purest gold. Silver utensils of immense weight and size were prepared for use in the kitchen and for the service of the table and the toilet, besides bridles and saddles ... the workmanship alone was evidence of their exceeding great cost and easily surpassed the luxury of kings", and *ibid.*, XVIII, 33 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 878f).

(84) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 224f and 232-5 (*CSHB*, 293 and 302-6) ; EUSTATHIOS, *Capture of Thessaloniki*, 14-20 and 28 (Jones, 18-26 and 32-4 ; *CSHB*, 380-7 and 394f). For Maria Kaisarissa's involvement in politics, and the degree to which women were involved in popular rebellions, see Lynda GARLAND, "'Vox populi, vox dei' : Political Power and the Populace in Byzantium Prior to the Fourth Crusade", *Byzantinoslavica*, 53 (fasc. 1) (1992), 17-52.

fore all the more reliable, though her beauty was used against her in the accusations current that she might remarry and the attacks on her supposed affair with the protosevastos, by whom she was used as :

> "an advance fortification or, to tell the truth, as an irresistible mollification (for she pulled in everyone as though on a line by the radiance of her appearance, her pearly countenance, her even disposition, candor, and charm of speech) ..." ([85]).

Eustathios of Thessaloniki sees her as using her charms more deliberately, and thus more dangerously to the empire's detriment, while at the same time implying that her crowds of suitors were not necessarily her own fault, but the natural result both of her beauty and her prominence, for he considers her to have been both experienced in love affairs and in the ability to conceal them and to have veiled the "sunshine of her charms in a spiritual manner with a cloud of dark garments", encouraging the crowds of suitors who discreetly assailed her ([86]). Indeed, such was her beauty that after her assassination by her husband's cousin Andronikos, who ascended the throne as Andronikos I Komnenos having also encompassed the death of the young emperor, the protosevastos, and Manuel's daughter the Kaisarissa Maria and her husband, the new emperor had all public portraits of her repainted as if she were a shrivelled-up old woman, so suspicious was he of the pity these pictures of the empress' radiant beauty (*τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ περικαλλέστατον εἶδος καὶ τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι ἀξιώτατον* ...) elicited from the passers-by, which, considering the public antipathy to her as regent, shows the Byzantine appreciation of physical beauty and the extent to which statues and paintings possessed magic powers in the eyes of the Byzantine populace, which may have inspired Andronikos' decision to reportray her publicly as an old hag ; these representations were to be later replaced with portraits either of Andronikos alone or with Agnes-Anna, his young bride. Mary's attractions were also recalled as outstanding by Choniates, with perhaps a rather un-

(85) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 244 (*CSHB*, 317f), *αὕτη γὰρ τῷ τῆς θέας λαμπρῷ καὶ τῷ τῆς ὄψεως μαργαρώδει καὶ τῷ τοῦ ἤθους ὁμαλῷ καὶ τῷ τοῦ φρονήματος ἀσυμπλόκῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπαγωγῷ τοῦ φθέγματος ὡς ἀπὸ μηρίνθου πάντας ἐφείλκετο* ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 137. For her "lovers", her step-daughter's accusation and the populace's reaction to the rumours, see *ibid.*, 224f and 230-5 (*CSHB*, 292f and 300-6).

(86) EUSTATHIOS, *Capture of Thessaloniki*, 14 (*CSHB*, 380f ; trans. Jones, 19), ... *τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἥλιον πνευματικῶς νεφώσασα κατὰ περιβολὴν μέλαιναν.*

characteristic lack of tact, in his speech at the wedding of Isaac Angelos and — Mary's relation in Byzantine eyes — Margaret-Maria of Hungary, Manasses considering Mary too to be descended, in general terms, from Caesars and rulers of the West, while court poets address Mary as "Italian-born" and "daughter of princes" in works in which she dedicates offerings to the Church, prays for Manuel's success, makes gifts to the emperor with her best wishes, and asks for the safe delivery of a child, while she also appears in one poem which describes a work of art, executed before 1169, in which Mary, being blessed by Christ, is portrayed alongside the emperor Manuel (87).

The only one of Manuel's two daughters to reach adolescence, Maria Kaisarissa, born in March 1152, had, at her marriage to Renier of Montferrat, according to Choniates, passed her thirtieth year and was said to be as strong as a man, and desperate for marriage: "... the maiden, a princess wooed by many, was like Agamemnon's daughter Electra, raving long in the palace and stately as a white poplar wet with dew, longing for the marriage bed", a statement which contrasts strongly with his epitaph on her step-mother's poisoning by Andronikos, where he narrates Mary's unhappy fate and calls her ... *τὸ γλυκερὸν φάος καὶ καλὸν ὅραμα ἀνθρώποις*, and laments her burial in obscurity on the sea-shore (88). Indeed, the lack of detail regarding Maria's physical appearance perhaps suggests that in such matters she may have taken after her mother Bertha, though Kinnamos conventionally describes her as "outstanding in beauty (*θυγάτριον ... κάλλει διενεγκὸν*)". Though she was initially betrothed to Béla-Alexios of Hungary, Manuel also conducted marriage negotiations for her with William II of Sicily and Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, and the festivities at her eventual marriage to the young Renier-John of Montferrat in 1179 or 1180, who, according to William, was about seventeen, show Byzantine ostentation at its most lavish (89).

(87) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 332f (*CSHB*, 433); CHONIATES, *Orationes et Epistulae*, 40; MANASSES, "Hodoiporikon", 330f, lines 185f, ... *εὐγενὲς γένος· / ἐξ αἵματος γὰρ Καισάρων Ἰουλίων / σκηπτροκρατούντων τῶν μερῶν τῆς ἑσπέρας*; *Codex Marc.*, 55f, 57, 126, 145 and 178 (nos. 98, 100, 109, 221, 335 and 336); for the portrait of the imperial couple in a Vatican manuscript (gr. 1176, f. IIr), see MAGDALINO, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art", 137-40.

(88) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 170f, ... *κατ' ἀχερωΐδα ὑδρηλὴν ὑψηλὴ καὶ κοίτης ἀνδρώας ἱμείρουσα*, and 269 (*CSHB*, 222 and 348f; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 97 and 149).

(89) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, III, 11 (*CSHB*, 118); cf. EUSTATHIOS, *Capture of Thessa-*

Another of Piroshka's daughters-in-law, the intellectual Eirene, wife of John II's second son, Andronikos the sevastokrator, also played a significant role in the family and society of her time, being the centre of a literary and intellectual circle and sponsoring works such as Tzetzes' *Theogony*, Manasses' *Chronicle*, a manual of grammar, a variety of productions from Theodore Prodromos and "Manganeios" Prodromos and, possibly, John Kokkinovaphos' homilies to the Virgin, and whose correspondence and especially her wide patronage of court poets ensured her recognition in the literature of her time (90). Eirene, one of the main literary patrons of the 1140s, whom the "courageous" poem addressed by "Manganeios" Prodromos to Manuel on her account shows as "an arrogant and indomitable person who knew her rights and defended them", is applauded by poets for her birth, which is generally left unspecified (*Γένος μὲν οὖν σὸν εἰς τὸ τῶν Αἰνειάδων* ...), her intelligence and wisdom, her beauty (so outstanding that the poet can not decide whether she is divine or mortal) including her complexion,

Ioniki, 14 (Jones, 20 ; *CSHB*, 382), who calls her *τὸ ἅγιον ἐκείνη γέννημα* and her husband *νεανίας μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τέλειος δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν* ; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XXII, 4 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 1067) ; trans. BABCOCK & KREY, *A History of Deeds*, II, 450, "... any attempt to describe in detail all the wonders of those days would be utterly futile ... the games of the circus which the inhabitants of Constantinople call hippodromes, and the glorious spectacles of varied nature shown to the people with great pomp during the days of the celebration ; the imperial magnificence of the vestments and the royal robes adorned with a profusion of precious stones and pearls of great weight (si imperialem circa vestes, et proprii corporis indumenta in lapidibus pretiosis et margaritarum pondere et numero excellentiam) ; the vast amount of massive gold and silver furniture in the palace, of untold value (si palatii suppellectilem auream, argenteam, numero et pondere infinitam) ... the valuable draperies adorning the royal abode (si velorum ad ornatum dependentium pretium) ... the numerous servants and members of the court, the magnificence of the nuptial splendour (si apparatus nuptiarum magnificentiam ...), and the generous gifts which the emperor lavished on both his own people and on strangers".

(90) For Eirene and the literary work inspired by her (published and unpublished), see Elizabeth M. JEFFREYS, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness : the Monk Iakovos", in *JOB*, 32/3 (1982), 63-71 ; *eadem*, "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy : Some Suggestions", in ANGOLD, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 202-10 ; and MULLETT, "Aristocracy and Patronage", *ibid.*, 178-81 ; Odysseus LAMPSIDIS, "Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene", *JOB*, 34 (1984), 91-105. For the Theogony, which follows closely the directions of its patronness, see also M. JEFFREYS, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse", 149-55, and cf. LEONE, *Ioannes Tzetzes Epistulae*, 77-9 (no. 56), a letter on literary matters, addressing Eirene, as he does Anna, Manuel's sister, several times as *ἁγία μου δέσποινα*, referring also to the *τὸ θεσπέσιον κράτος* of both ladies, in which he complains that someone has made mischief between them, and cf. *ibid.*, 63 (no. 43) *Τοῖς δυσὶ τῆς σεβαστοκρατορίσσης γραμματικοῖς*.

eyebrows, mouth and stature, her learning and scholarship (Homer, Hermogenes, Demosthenes and the orators, Aristotle and Plato are mentioned, her taste for philosophy being particularly noted : *τοῦτο θηλείαις κλέος, / οὕτω τις ἤσθα συνόλως τεραστία*), and especially her generosity and beneficence, which is so great that her hand pours out an endless stream of charity (91). Theodore Prodromos, who regularly calls her *βασίλισσα*, in three lengthy poems for the sevastokratorissa and her family, celebrating the birth of her son Alexios, lamenting the death of her husband, and asking for her help in his illness, again fails to specify the details of her noble birth but puts great weight not only on her virtue, charity and intellect, but also on her beauty, presumably to the satisfaction of his addressee, while her lament at the death, probably in August 1142, of her husband Andronikos (who died less than a month after his elder brother Alexios, whose body he was escorting to Constantinople), displays clearly both her grief and, even more distinctly, her thwarted ambition and regrets at loss of status and potential power. Eirene was obviously a lady of many parts, having a taste for both flattery and dominion, even before her widowhood being labelled by Prodromos as "best of all empresses and sevastokratorissas" and ... *μητρὸς ἀρίστης ... / εἰς γένος ἤθος παίδευσιν, εἰς εἶδος ἀσυγκρίτου, / περικαλλοῦς τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πλέον, / ἀρρενωποῦ καὶ σταθηρᾶς ἐν γυναικείῳ σκήνει* ..., and had destiny called upon Eirene to assume the purple, she would in all respects have filled the role to perfection (92).

(91) *Codex Marc.*, 25 (no. 56), lines 86f ; cf. *ibid.*, 22-8 (nos. 56 and 57) ; S. PAPADIMITRIU, *Ὁ Πρόδρομος τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ κώδικος* XI, 22', in *Vizantiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), 155-63 (cited by KAZHDAN & CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, 113). For the suggestion that Eirene was possibly of Western descent, her father being perhaps a Byzantinised military commander, see E. JEFFREYS, "Western Infiltration", 206f, but cf. the anti-western poems written on her behalf on the marriage of her daughter Theodora to Henry Jasomirgott ; the cliché among her protegés, was apparently that – like other Byzantine imperial women – she was not only blond but dazzingly beautiful (E. JEFFREYS, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene", 68). For Eirene's daughter-in-law, Maria Doukaina, the wife of Alexios, see *Codex Marc.*, 35f (no. 70).

(92) HÖRANDNER, 415 (no. XLV), lines 24-7, *ἐῶ τὰ λοιπά, τὴν χλιδήν, τὴν πορφύραν, / τὰ πέπλα τὰ χρύσεια, τὰς λαμπρὰς κλίνας, / τὰς τῶν λατρευτῶν εὐλαβεῖς παραστάσεις / καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τῶν κάτω τιμωμένων ...* ; 406 (no. XLIV), lines 20-3 ; cf. 406-433 (nos. XLIV-XLVI). *Ibid.*, 407 (no. XLIV), lines 53-9, *περιφανὴς ἐν γυναιξί, περικαλλὴς τῇ θέᾳ, / περίβλεπτος ἐκ τοῖν γενοῖν, ἐξ ἀρετῶν κοσμία, / ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα πολλῷ κοσμιωτέρα. / ... χαῖρε, ψυχὴ βασιλικὴ αχρυσοῦ καθαρωτέρα / καὶ σῶμα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν λαμπρότερον οὐσίας*, and see lines 27f, 116-9 and 149 (Alexios), *μητρὸς ἐξέφυς ἱερᾶς, γένει λαμπρᾶς καὶ κάλλει* ; *ibid.*, 431 (no. XLVI), line 2, he addresses her

Other female members of the imperial family of this period are described briefly in the historical narratives: Maria, the daughter of Manuel's eldest brother Alexios and Dobrodjeja, was said to be of peerless beauty amongst all women and a radiant ornament spoken of by everyone with deep affection, and to have held "wifely affection and discretion in high esteem". Maria attempted to plead for her husband Alexios Axouch the protostrator, arraigned on charges of treasonable conduct, with her uncle, but unsuccessfully, and faded away through endless mourning after her husband was forced to take to the monastic life, having exhausted all her possessions on the care of her two sons. Like Maria Doukaina, the wife of her cousin Alexios (son of Andronikos and Eirene the sevastokratorissa) later to become the much-hated protosevastos, we have on her behalf a dedicatory poem, commissioned from an anonymous author, praying for her husband' success and safe return (93), while other of Manuel Komnenos' many nieces feature in the sources of the time. The most notable of these was perhaps Theodora, daughter of the sevastokratorissa Eirene and Andronikos, hence the sister of Alexios the protosevastos the supposed lover of Manuel's widow, and not only Manuel's niece but his mistress, who was so arrogant and supercilious, she would only enter the palace when it was swept clean, and then arching her eyebrows in conceit and disdain, and who later married Henry Jasomirgott, the half-brother of Conrad III of Germany, in 1148, to the accompaniment of a poem of "Manganeios" Prodromos on the occasion. Nevertheless another poem on the subject speaks of Eirene's immeasurable grief and suffering at being parted from this darling child, her only refreshment and comfort, who is to be carried off by the ravening western beast, in terminology that says much for the conventional views of princesses, but seems hardly applicable to Theodora (94). Her sister,

as *φιλάγαθε βασίλισσα καὶ φιλολογωτάτη*. See also 434 (no. XLVII), a dedicatory poem on a lamp, written on her behalf; LAMPSIDIS, "Zur Sebastokratorissa", 103; and *R. H. C. Gr.* II, 764-6 and 768-72, for poems written for her and her family.

(93) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 144f (*CSHB*, 188f), ... *καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους θηλυτέρων καλλισιεῖον οὖσα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπικόσμημα καὶ περιλάλημα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπάσμιον*; *Codex Marc.* 39 and 36 (no. 74 and 70).

(94) See CHONIATES, *Historia*, 54, 104, and 204 (*CSHB*, 73, 136 and 266). For her marriage to Henry Jasomirgott, later Duke of Austria, in 1148, see KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, V, 12; VI, 4 (*CSHB*, 236, 261f); and *R. H. C. Gr.*, II, 772 and 768f, where Theodora is termed, among other endearments, *μαλθακωτάτη κόρη*, *τρυφερωτάτη μόσχος*, and *τὸ θελκτικὸν ἐντρύφημα καὶ παραγκάλισμά μοι*, as well as the last wretched

Eudokia, too, is recorded as conducting a passionate affair with her cousin Andronikos and as being unusually, for a woman, quick-witted and intelligent. It is perhaps significant that, despite such affairs, Manuel was exhorted by the demes upon the occasion of the marriage of his nephew Isaac, son of Manuel's sister Eudokia, before the birth of his own legitimate son Alexios, to marry off his siblings' children to ensure the future progeny of the family, while similar exhortation had previously been made by the people at the marriages of one of the granddaughters and one of the grandsons of Manuel's father John II (95). Of the emperor's other nieces, Theodora one of the daughters of Manuel's brother Isaac, is described by William of Tyre, who stresses her illustrious birth and blameless and secluded upbringing, on her marriage to Baldwin III of Jerusalem in 1158, when in her thirteenth year, and her unusual beauty of both form and feature. Her dowry consisted of a hundred thousand hyperperes, of standard weight, and in addition ten thousand hyperperes generously given her by the emperor for her marriage expenses. Her bridal outfit of gold and gems, garments and pearls, tapestries and silken stuffs, as well as precious vessels, was valued by William at an additional fourteen thousand hyperperes. She seems to have easily managed her husband, who renounced his previous light-minded conduct and was devoted to her until his death in 1163. Acre was given to her as her dowry (96). In 1155, Frederick I Barbarossa offered for her sister Maria, who was "out-

child of the sevastokrator; and E. JEFFREYS, "The Comnenian Background", 471, "Germany, dance, rejoice and put on ornaments; for the most renowned duke is happily united with the fairest daughter of the Sevastokrator, and becomes more glorious through her greater glory and more renowned through her greater fame".

(95) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 104f (*CSHB*,136f; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 60); *Codex Marc.*, 161-3 (no. 272); HÖRANDNER, 265f (no. XIII), lines 47-52, and 268-70 (no. XIV), lines 50-3, and cf. XIII, lines 13-20 and XIV, lines 25-35 for the lineage and beauty of the brides; for Eudokia's grief on her widowhood, as a young bride with a small baby, before her affair with Andronikos, see *R. H. C. Gr.*, II, 771f. On Theodora and Eudokia' sister Maria, who married into the Kantakouzenos family, see *ibid.*, 771f and HÖRANDNER, 418 (no. XLV), lines 120-4.

(96) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVIII, 22, (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 857; trans. BABCOCK & KREY, *A History of Deeds*, II, 274), "... uxor virginum illustrissima, quae in sacris imperii penetralibus nutriebatur ... annum agens tertiumdecimum, formae venustate singulariter conspicua, vultus elegantia et totius corporis habitudine intuentibus favorabilis", cf. *ibid.*, XX, 2. For the pomp with which Maria, great-niece of Manuel and daughter of John the protosevastos, was escorted to Tyre for her marriage to Amalric I, Baldwin's brother, on his accession in 1167, see *ibid.*, XX, 1 and KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, V, 13 (*CSHB*, 238).

standing in birth and superiority of beauty" and by whom he was captivated, but the negotiations failed. Maria, still extremely beautiful, married Stephen of Hungary in 1161 (97).

The only female representative of Manuel's own generation to be personally noticed by historians was Maria, eldest of his four sisters, and wife of the Caesar John Roger or John Dalassenos, a Norman by descent and one of the most powerful men at court towards the end of the reign of John II. Maria, who died in 1144/5, is described as a very high-hearted woman with an unusually masculine outlook, and she foiled her husband's attempt at a coup in 1143 (98), with a deviousness perhaps matched only by the crafty Maria, worthy daughter of Andronikos I, whose mother, Andronikos' first wife, also showed an independence of spirit, despite her propriety and virtue, in her fidelity to her husband, despite his amorous intrigues and treacherous activities, shown in her helping him to escape from prison with the help of duplicate keys in 1164. Her name is not known, but, fittingly, towards the end of his reign, Andronikos had her remains moved from the Monastery of Angourion to the Church of the Holy Martyrs of Sevaste, which he was preparing as a suitable burial place for himself (99). Manuel's sister Maria and her priorities as an imperial princess and her pride of family are clearly shown in a poem written for her sorrowing husband after her death, when one of her pieces of gold jewelry, his favourite, was given by him as an offering to the Theotokos with prayers

(97) *Ibid.*, IV, 1 ; V, 1 (*CSHB*, 134f and 203) ; CHONIATES, *Historia*, 126 (*CSHB*, 165). For the lament of Theodora, widow of Manuel's nephew Andronikos Kontostephanos, for her husband, see *Codex Marc.*, 154f (no. 242).

(98) KINNAMOS, *Epitome*, II, 4 (*CSHB*, 37f), ... *γυνὴ μεγαλόφρων ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἔχουσα.* After Maria's death, John was sent to Antioch in 1152, as a candidate for the widowed Constance of Antioch's hand but with no success ; "because he was aged, Constance regarded him with displeasure" (*ibid.*, III, 14 ; *CSHB*, 123). Constance actually married Renaud de Châtillon, and there were many "who marvelled that a woman so eminent, so distinguished and powerful, who had been the wife of a very illustrious man, should stoop to marry an ordinary knight" (WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVII, 26 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 802) ; trans. BABCOCK & KREY, *A History of Deeds*, II, 224). For the Rogerios family, see NICOL, "Symbiosis and Integration", 122-7 ; KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 352-4 (no. XXXII ; Romano, 93-5, no. 19), an epitaph for Roger the sevastos, possibly John Roger's father ; and *Codex Marc.*, 21f, 129 and 133f (nos. 52, 113 and 132).

(99) EUSTATHIOS, *Capture of Thessaloniki*, 24 (Jones, 28-30 ; *CSHB*, 390) ; CHONIATES, *Historia*, 243 ; 107, 141f and 332 (*CSHB*, 316f ; 140f, 184-6 and 432) ; KINNAMOS, V, 11 (*CSHB*, 233).

for their reunion in the after-life ([100]). Manuel's second sister, Anna, who married the admiral Stephen Kontostephanos, appears as the giver of an altar to the monastery of Stoudion together with her husband, and in an epitaph for him is praised for her ... *πορφύρα γνώρισμα καὶ σώφρων βίος / καὶ θαλερὰ μάλιστα καλλιτεκνία*, while Theodora and Eudokia too feature in the occasional poetry of the time. Theodora, like Maria, boasted of her noble and powerful descent, listing as her family the emperors Alexios, John and Manuel (her husband, at that time, Andronikos Lapardas receiving comparatively little emphasis), and praying for relief from barrenness : as the wife of Manuel Anemas, she was later to bear some three children, and was to be immured in a convent by Andronikos Komnenos. An epitaph for Eudokia, written in the person of her distraught husband Theodore Vatatzes, like that for her sister Theodora, recounted the feats of her male relations from Alexios I to Manuel, and Vatatzes, like his brother-in-law John Roger, looks forward to a union with his beloved wife in Paradise, and is shown to praise his late partner in terms of great eulogy in respect of her beauty, virtue, intelligence, descent, generosity and address ([101]). Clearly Byzantine-born imperial and aristocratic

(100) *Codex Marc.*, 21 (no. 52), lines 8-10, ... *ἡ παππαπατράδελφον αὐχοῦσα στέφος / καύχημα πατρὸς, συγγόνων, γένους ὅλου, / ἡ πορφυρανθὴς σύζυγός μου Μαρία* ... . *Ibid.*, 49f (no. 90), Maria's daughter-in-law, Eirene, appears in a piece dedicated to the presentation of a seal, and for Maria and her daughter Theodora, see *R. H. C. Gr.*, II, 765f.

(101) For Anna, see *Codex Marc.*, 151 (no. 230) and, on the death of her husband, HÖRANDNER, 438 (no. XLIX), lines 11f, and cf. 436f (no. XLVIII) ; her son, John, is mentioned with reference to a gift of an icon, *Codex Marc.*, 17 (no. 40) ; for Tzetzes' letter to her requesting her help and protection, see LEONE, *Ioannes Tzetzes Epistulae*, 75-7 (no. 55). For Theodora, see *Codex Marc.*, 177 (no. 334) and HÖRANDNER, 451-3 (no. LIV), lines 67-71 and 123-38, where the worth of this *τὸ λευκέρυθρον πορφυράνθητον ῥόδον* (line 129 ; cf. n. 57 above on Anna Komnena), now draped in black, is said to outshine even her imperial birth, and see V. GRUMEL, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople III : Les Regestes de 1043 à 1206* (Chalcedon, 1947), 176f (N. 1166), for the decision, late in 1185, of a synod refusing permission for her to leave the convent (since she had of her own accord taken the veil) and marry Béla III of Hungary, whose wife had died the previous year, and who wished to ratify the Byzantino-Hungarian agreement suggested by Manuel, when Béla was engaged to his daughter Maria ; for Theodora' son Alexios and his widow Anna Komnene Doukaina, see *Codex Marc.*, 163f (no. 276). For Eudokia, see *ibid.*, 158-60 (no. 270), lines 24-9, *Οὕτω γενῶν ἔχουσα τῆς εὐκληρίας / εἰς κάλλος ἦν ἄγαλμα φύσεως ξένον, / εἰς ἦθος εἰκὼν ἀρετῶν ὅλων μία, / εἰς νοῦν ὑπερβάλλουσα θήλεος φύσιν, / εἰς χεῖρας ὡς ῥοῦς ἐκρέουσα τὰς δόσεις, / εἰς προσλαλιὰν καὶ μέλιτος γλυκίων*. For Zoe, Manuel's cousin, daughter of Constantine Angelos and Theodora, and wife of Andronikos Synadenos, see *ibid.*, 146-8 (no. 223).

women were accustomed to commissioning poems or various topics such as occasions for thanksgiving or pieces on dedicatory offerings or gifts both within the family and to the Church, and having an epitaph written professionally for a husband seems to have been especially *de rigueur*, a number of women on the fringes of the imperial family also employing Prodromos in these contexts, notably Maria Doukaina, the wife of Alexios Kontostephanos, nephew or son of Stephen, and Anna, Manuel's sister ; Zoe, granddaughter of Isaac, Alexios I's elder brother, and wife of George Botaneiates ; Maria, daughter of Theodora (wife of Constantine Angelos) the daughter of John II, and wife of Constantine Kamytzes ; Anna Komnene, widow of the sevastos Leo Tzikandelis ; and Eudokia Komnene, wife of Theodore Stypiotes, keeper of the imperial inkstand in the 1150s ; while Eirene, the wife of the logothete Gregory Kamateros, and possibly the daughter of Eirene Doukaina's brother Michael, commissioned from both Prodromos and Kallikles laments for her husband and two sons, and Michael's granddaughter, Euphrosyne, the wife of the protonobilissimos Nikolaos Maurokatakalon, features in more than one dedicatory poem. The epitaphs are of course generally written from the survivors' point of view rather than that of the deceased, and frequently contrast not only the widow's current gloom with her past happiness, but her present appearance in deep and melancholy mourning against her previous bright and splendid raiment ([102]).

Manuel's daughter-in-law was Agnes-Anna, daughter of Louis VII of France, and adolescent bride first of Alexios II and then of Andronikos I, fifty years her senior, and is described by Choniates as red-cheeked and tender and a "... rosy-fingered girl dripping with the dew of love (... *τὴν ῥοδοδάκτυλον καὶ δρόσον ἔρωτος στάζουσαν*)", while Robert of Clari stresses the rich entourage which accompanied Agnes

(102) HÖRANDNER, 447f (no. LIII) (on an ikon of Christ for Alexios' protection in battle) ; 489f (no. LX) (epitaph) ; 497-9 (no. LXIV) (epitaph) ; 501f (no. LXV) (epitaph) ; 525 (no. LXXIII) (on a maniple offered for the recovery of a son) ; 512 (no. LXX) (a lament) and cf. 537-40 (no. LXXV) (an anonymous epitaph) and 459 (no. LV), a poem on a mirror written for a certain Maria Komnene ; for other women of unknown background who feature in the poetry of the twelfth century, see POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 190-4. For the lament for Kamateros, see KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 333f (no. XXI ; Romano, 96f, no. 21), and for Euphrosyne, see *Codex Marc.*, 144 and 155 (nos. 218 and 263). For an epitaph written by a husband for a wife (the pansevastos Manuel Botaneiates for Eirene Synadene), see *ibid.*, 40f (no. 75). For Maria Doukaina, Zoe, Euphrosyne and Eirene, see POLEMIS, *Doukai*, 77-9 and 190.

to Constantinople. Agnes' arrival was heralded in a lengthy production of welcoming verses, which, possibly for political reasons, stress the beauty of the young bride, ... *νύμφην ὡραίαν, πανεύγενον, τῆς Δύσεως τὴν καλλίαν, / τὴν δόξαν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ πάσης οἰκουμένης* ..., the description of her attractions reaching an unusual degree of imaginative hyperbole in its account of her charms as in the praise of her lively form of air and crystal, *τὸ σὸν ἀεροκρυστάλλινον ἐμψυχωμένον σῶμα* ... : Eustathios, too, in his speech of welcome stresses Agnes' youth, charm and grace, and her modest bashfulness at the sight of her betrothed. The *εἰσιτήριοι* describe Agnes as outshining even her new sister-in-law Maria Kaisarissa who comes formally and tremulously to meet her, and her elevation in rank and the splendour of her reception is stressed, in which Agnes is greeted by more than seventy ladies of the imperial house who aid her change into imperial regalia. Little of Agnes' career subsequent to her marriages to Alexios II and Andronikos I is known, though Robert of Clari states that in 1203-4 the crusaders found her living in a palace married to a high man of the city, Branas. She received the barons with bad grace and would talk only through an interpreter, pretending that she knew no French, though, according to Geoffrey, Agnes' husband was the only Greek who sided with the crusaders and he was well repaid by them for his support ([103]).

Another young and foreign-born empress, Margaret-Maria of Hungary, the daughter of Béla of Hungary, married Isaac II Angelos, a widower, when she was not yet ten ; she too had welcoming verses

(103) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 275f (*CSHB*, 357 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 153) ; and cf. EUSTATHIOS, *Capture of Thessaloniki*, 44 (Jones, 52 ; *CSHB*, 412) for her intelligence, loathing of Andronikos, and regrets for Alexios' death. According to WILLIAM OF TYRE, XXII, 4 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 1066f) she was just eight on her arrival at Constantinople, while Alexios was thirteen, though he was probably born in September 1169 (Jones, 169f) ; ROBERT OF CLARI, *La conquête de Constantinople*, XX, ed. Philippe LAUER (Paris, 1924), 19 (trans. Edgar Homes McNEAL, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York, 1966), 49), "Then the king arrayed his sister very richly and sent her with the messengers to Constantinople, and many of his people with her ... When they were come, the emperor did very great honor to the damsel and made great rejoicing over her and her people", and *ibid.*, LIII (Lauer, 54) ; GEOFFREY OF VILLEHARDOUIN, *La conquête de Constantinople*, 403 and 423, ed. and trans. Edmond FARAL (Paris, 2nd. ed., 1961), II, 214-6 and 236 ; J. STRZYGOWSKI, "Das Epithalamion des Palaiologen Andronikos II", in *BZ*, 10 (1901), 546-67, esp. 547-55 ; and Michael J. JEFFREYS, "The Vernacular *εἰσιτήριοι* for Agnes of France", in *Byzantine Papers* (Byzantina Australiensia I ; Canberra, 1981), 101-15. Cf. EUSTATHIOS' speech of welcome, in REGEL & NOVOSADSKIJ, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, V, 80-92.

produced for her arrival in Constantinople, written by the historian Niketas Choniates, which stress her royal birth, virtues and beauty ; his epithalamium speech on the occasion also makes great play with her youth and the fact that physical beauty is not the only point in which she excels, despite her similarities to the goddesses of ancient times, and emphasizes her role as Isaac's lifelong helpmate and child-bearer, comparing the wedding favourably, amidst a host of many other mythological parallels, to those of Alexander and the daughter of Dareios and Peleus and Thetis ([104]). Isaac came to the throne in September 1185, and the wedding was celebrated penuriously in late 1185 or early 1186. But Margaret is also mentioned in western sources since she later married Boniface of Montferrat, and, before the fall of the city, had been involved in the reception of the crusaders at court, as at the palace of Blachernae in 1203 : "There they found the Emperor Isaac, so richly clad that you would seek in vain throughout the world for a man more richly apparelled than he, and by his side the empress, his wife, a most fair lady, the sister of the King of Hungary ; and of great men and great ladies there were so many, that you could not stir foot for the press, and the ladies were so richly adorned that richer adornment might not be (haltes dames ... si richement acesmees que eles ne pooient plus)" ([105]) ; according to Akropolitas, after her marriage to Boniface, *ἦν καὶ ὡραίαν πάνυ τῷ εἴδει οἱ κατιδόντες ἔφασκον εἶναι* ([106]). Geoffrey describes how Isaac received the crusader envoys, for whom Villehardouin himself was the spokesman, privately

(104) CHONIATES, *Orationes et Epistulae*, 44-6, 40, ... *οὐ γὰρ βοῶπις μόνον καὶ χρυσῆ τὸ εἶδος καὶ δολιχόδειρος ... ἀλλ' ὅλη καλὴ ἕως σφόδρα καλὴ κἀν τῷ κάλλει πασῶν βασιλεύουσα*, and cf. 35-44. Choniates traces her descent to "Julius Caesars and Augustuses", *ibid.* 40 and cf. 36. For Isaac Angelos' mother Euphrosyne Kastamonitissa and her courage and inflexibility of demeanour despite Andronikos Komnenos' unsuccessful use of her as an adjunct to his army's battering-ram during his siege of Isaac in Nicaea in 1184, see CHONIATES, *Historia*, 282f (*CSHB*, 365f) and cf. GREGORY of Antioch's speech on her death, in REGEL & NOVOSADSKIJ, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, XVIII, 300-4.

(105) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 368 and cf. 598 (*CSHB*, 481, 792) ; AKROPOLITAS, *Historia*, in *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. Augustus HEISENBERG, 11 (Stuttgart, 1903, repr. 1978), vol. I, 18 ; GEOFFREY OF VILLEHARDOUIN, 185 (Faral, I, 188 ; trans. Sir Frank MARZIALS, *Villehardouin and De Joinville : Memoirs of the Crusades* (London & New York, 1908), [also trans. M. R. B. SHAW, *Joinville and Villehardouin. Chronicles of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1963)], 46), and see also GEOFFREY, 212 (Faral, II, 10-2) for Margaret-Maria "... dame belle et bonne".

(106) AKROPOLITAS, *Historia*, 8 (Heisenberg, I, 12f).

at their own request with only himself, the empress, the chancellor, the interpreter and the four envoys present so they could discuss the covenants agreed upon earlier by the young Alexios IV, Isaac' son, while Robert supposes Margaret to have been recognised by the people of Adrianople as their ex-empress, when the city was besieged by Boniface, her second husband ([107]). The French sources also praise later empresses such as Agnes of Montferrat, the daughter of Boniface, described by Geoffrey as a lady very good and fair ("qui mult ere et bone et bele") and who married Henry of Flanders, Latin Emperor from 1205 to 1216, in St. Sophia in 1207 "with great joy and in great pomp ; and they both wore a crown ; and high were the marriage-feastings in the palace of Bucoleon", and he recounts the popular grief at the death of Mary, grand-daughter of Philip Augustus, King of France and wife of Emperor Baldwin, who died on her way to Constantinople ([108]). Robert too in his account of the Bulgarian princess, daughter of Boril, Henry's second wife, stresses crusaders' view of the rank and wealth befitting the future wife of an emperor ([109]). This ostentation and dignity even the French, with their ignorance of

(107) GEOFFREY OF VILLEHARDOUIN, 186 (Faral, I, 188f) ; ROBERT OF CLARI, CI (Lauer, 98f), "seigneur, de ne connissiés vous que che fust chi femme Kyrsaac l'empereur ?" ... "Ouil", fist chis, "nous connissons bien que che fu femme Kyrsaac et que che furent si enfant".

(108) GEOFFREY OF VILLEHARDOUIN, 458 ; and 317-8, "... whereof there was great dole throughout all Christendom, for she was a gracious and virtuous lady and greatly honoured (... car ele ere mult bone dame et mult honoree) ... the Emperor Baldwin had sore affliction, as also the barons of the land, for much did they desire to have her for their lady" (Faral, II, 272 and 124-6 ; trans. MARZIALS, *Villehardouin and De Joinville*, 121 and 83).

(109) ROBERT OF CLARI, CXVI-CXVIII (Lauer, 108f ; trans. MCNEAL, *Conquest of Constantinople*, 127f), "So this Boris became king of Vlachia, and he had a beautiful daughter (Burus ... avoit une belle fille) ... the barons advised him [Henry] to send to this Boris, who was king of Vlachia, and ask him to give him his daughter to wife. The emperor answered that he would never take a wife of such low lineage ... Then Boris the king has his daughter attired very richly and very nobly (molt rikement et molt noblement), and many people with her. And he sent her to the emperor, and he commanded sixty pack horses to be sent to him all loaded with treasure, with gold and silver and cloth of silk and precious jewels, and there was no horse that was not covered with a cloth of vermilion samite, so long that it trailed behind fully seven or eight feet, and never did they go through mud or by evil roads, so that not one of the samite cloths was injured, all for daintiness and nobility (tout par cointise et par nobleche). When the emperor knew that the maiden was coming, he went to meet her, and the barons with him, and they made great welcome for her and her people, and then afterwards the emperor married her".

Byzantine etiquette and customs, could not help but appreciate, as in Robert of Clari's detailed description of Baldwin's coronation in May 1204, his throne, sceptre and orb, and particularly his imperial vestments, assessing the jewels which he was wearing to be "worth more than the treasure of a rich king", and Villehardouin lists gold, silver, precious vessels, jewels, samite, cloth of silk, robes, ermine and "every choicest thing found upon the earth" in his appraisal of the booty yielded by the capital ([110]).

Euphrosyne, wife of Alexios III Angelos, and granddaughter of Eirene Doukaina and Gregory Kamateros, was apparently such a masterful figure that her physical appearance was seldom dwelt upon, though she seems to have loved finery and magnificent jewels, and is described (among other things) by Choniates in his history as "a monstrous evil" and as having a great love of majesty and power, encroaching even upon the prerogatives of the emperor himself. At the reception of important foreign embassies, she is said to have sat by the side of the emperor on an equally sumptuous throne, dressed splendidly, with a crown of jewels and pearls and adorned with costly necklaces, while on other occasions she held a separate court, the subjects first paying their devoirs to the emperor and then moving on to that of the empress whom they greeted with even greater reverence and more fervent prostrations ([111]). Significantly, however, in his public speeches and orations during the reign of Alexios Angelos, Choniates paints a very different picture of the empress, as she herself would have liked to have been seen, flattering her with compliments and stressing her royal descent (uniting the lines of the Doukades and Komnenoi), her virtues and her abilities, with much allusive play upon her "joyful" name, describing her as an active helpmate to and co-ruler with Alexios, and as a "Fourth Grace" and as surpassing all women in beauty and all empresses in virtue and intelligence. Indeed, she is said not only to adorn her rank in, as is only to be expected, her ornaments and imperial

(110) See ROBERT OF CLARI, XCVII (trans. MCNEAL, *Conquest of Constantinople*, 117) and cf. *ibid.*, XCVI-XCVII (Lauer, 93-5); GEOFFREY OF VILLEHARDOUIN, 250 (Faral, II, 53).

(111) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 460f (*CSHB*, 606f; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 252f), *καὶ συνεδρεύουσα προεκάθετο λαμπρῶς διεσκευασμένη ... λίθοις τε καὶ μαργάροις διαφανέσι τὸ τυμπάνιον διαδέουσα καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὁρμίσκοις πολυτίμοις διαλαμβάνουσα*, cf. *ibid.*, 455f, 484-9 and 519f (*CSHB*, 601f, 642-7 and 687f). For Euphrosyne and her three daughters, see POLEMIS, Doukai, 131.

dignity, but also, like Athena against the Giants and Solomon's paradigm of female prudence, in her political wisdom and decisive acts against dissidents and revolutionaries, and her wise and her positive guardianship of the empire while Alexios is on campaign, to whose success her prayers have significantly contributed ([112]).

Of her daughters, Anna, who was married first to Isaac Komnenos the sevastokrator, and then to Theodore (I) Laskaris, was more beautiful than her older sister Eirene, who married Andronikos Kontostephanos, and then Alexios Palaiologos, who had first to divorce his existing wife, herself a beautiful woman descended from a noble family. It was Eirene, the grandmother of Michael VIII Palaiologos through her daughter Theodora, whom Alexios III took with him when he fled the city in July 1203, along with certain attendants and relations and a thousand pounds of gold and imperial ornaments of jewels and pearls ; his wife Euphrosyne he left behind, perhaps not surprisingly in view of her domineering character and arrogant manners ([113]). Anna's charms and "rose-coloured beauty (*τῇ τοῦ κάλλους ῥοδωνιᾷ*)" were to be recognised by the barbarian Ivanko, who was betrothed, to his disgust, to her baby daughter Theodora instead ([114]). These "young and beautiful" sisters, who both eagerly desired a second marriage, their first husbands having died, were destined first for foreign rulers, but Alexios III in the end chose Byzantine aristocrats as their mates, and in 1199 they celebrated a double wedding marked by extravagant and ostentatious festivities ([115]). Their sister Eudokia too,

(112) CHONIATES, *Orationes et Epistulae*, 67f, 105f and 112 ; cf. *ibid.*, 67, where he stresses Euphrosyne's unusual qualities as empress ... *τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν καὶ βασίλισσαν, ἥτις οὐ μόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν σου παρίσταται μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος τῷ θήλει σχήματος ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς περιβεβλημένη, πεποικιλμένη ταῖς θεοτερπέσι δηλαδὴ πράξεσι καὶ πρὸς τὰ σοὶ θυμήρη τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀνακλίνουσα, ἀλλ' ... αὕτη τοὺς φιλοταράχους καὶ στασιώδεις χειρωσαμένη κατηωνίσατο.* As to her physical appearance, Choniates praises her ... *φοίνικι μὲν ὁμοίαν τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνάστημα, ἄνθει δὲ χιόνος τὴν ὄψιν κατάλληλον* (*loc. cit.*). For the play on the name of Euphrosyne, and the comparison to the virtuous woman of Proverbs XXXI, 10-31, see GREGORY of Antioch's oration on the death of Isaac Angelos' mother (in REGEL & NOVOSADSKIJ, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, XVIII, 303f), and *Codex Marc.*, 144 and 155 (nos. 218 and 263).

(113) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 497, 508 and 546f (*CSHB*, 660, 673f and 723f). Cf. his attempt to have her put away for supposed adultery (*ibid.*, 485-9 ; *CSHB*, 642-7), which, after some months of banishment, resulted in her returning to become more powerful than ever.

(114) See *ibid.*, 497 and 473 (*CSHB*, 660 and 623). Little Theodora, Alexios' granddaughter, was later married to Chrysos, not Ivanko (*ibid.*, 534f ; *CSHB*, 709).

(115) See *ibid.*, 508f (*CSHB*, 673-5).

the youngest, was presumably noted for her physical beauty for, despite her unsuccessful marriage to Stephen I Nemanja — she was rejected after a stormy marriage by Nemanja on the grounds of supposed adultery in 1198, and thrown out in disgrace, whereupon her father dispatched to her a two-headed throne, necklaces and splendid imperial garments to welcome her — Alexios (V) Doukas Murtzuphlos fell passionately in love with her and married her, prior to the fall of the city to the Latins in 1204 ([116]).

Beauty is also shown to be an important chracteristic of imperial mistresses, and historians tend to assume that physical appearance is the prime cause of love and the main qualification for a mistress of one of the royal family. Where outstanding beauty is not a feature of the lady concerned, the sources specifically comment on it, as in the case of the mistresses of Constantine IX whom Psellos describes in detail, Skleraina and the Alan, or Georgian, princess. Skleraina, an aristocrat, and niece of Constantine' second wife, was not especially remarkable in appearance (*τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶδος αὐτῇ οὐ πάνυ θαυμάσιον*), though not unhandsome enough to be a target for mockery or insult. Constantine's devotion to her, however, was so marked that it provoked a riot which nearly cost him his throne, and "as for her character and intellectual ability, she could charm a heart of stone ... There was in her conversation an unaffected sweetness of diction, an inexpressible grace in her manner of telling a story", and her speech and tone of voice were exquisite. According to the much later account of Zonaras, she was more typical of an imperial mistress and exceptional in beauty and stature as well as notably high-born, while Psellos' anecdote about the *οὐ νέμεσις* quotation clearly showed that her appearance was praised by courtiers, even if only in flattery, and that she herself was not immune to praise can be seen in her pride at the compliment at being compared to Homer's Helen of Troy and her generosity to the flatterer. Indeed, Psellos' epitaph for her naturally contradicts his more realistic portrait of her in the *Chronographia*, and portrays her with all imperial qualities, especially emphasizing her unique physical charms, and the honours and jewels showered on her by Constantine, who not

(116) *Ibid.*, 531f (her rejection), 571 (Murtzuphlos' passion for her), and 608f (her third marriage with Leo Sgouros later in 1204) (*CSHB*, 703-5, 755 and 803-5); see also AKROPOLITAS, *Historia*, 5 and 8 (Heisenberg, I, 8f and 13) for Eudokia's marriages to Murtzuphlos and Sgouros.

only gave her great wealth and rank, but covered her in pearls and precious gems ([117]).

The young Alan princess, at court as a hostage, too, was not outstandingly beautiful, and, presumably as a result, few suitors asked for her hand in marriage. Only two attributes lent her especial charm — the whiteness of her skin and the brilliance of her very beautiful eyes. This mistress was admitted by Constantine to take a regal part in his receptions of her father's envoys, where she was exhibited as his beautiful "wife" and presented the imperial gifts. Constantine wished to crown her as his empress, and had her, like Skleraina, given the rank of Augusta, and Psellos stresses the amount of money — rivers of gold, streams of wealth, endless floods of opulence — poured out on her. After Zoe's demise in 1050, at the age of seventy ("in extreme old age"), before which Constantine's affairs had been reasonably clandestine following Skleraina's death, this affair became conducted flagrantly and the lady's appearance changed remarkably, with her head garlanded in strange decorations, her neck resplendent with gold, bracelets of gold, fashioned like snakes, around her arms, heavy pearls suspended from her ears, and a girdle of gold and pearls, her appearance varying as if she were Proteus ([118]). Certainly mistresses were, in general, expected to be beautiful (indeed, in speaking of Skleraina, Psellos implies that any deviation in this respect from the canon of attractiveness in mistresses could call down scorn or mockery on the emperor concerned) and to be resplendent. Manuel and Andronikos' ladies, such as Theodora and Philippa, are shown as having great charms, though

(117) *Chronographia*, VI (Constantine IX), 60-1 (Renauld, I, 146); ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVII, xxi (*CSHB*, III, 618), *ἡ δὲ καὶ νέας ἦν ἡλικίας, καὶ κάλλους εἶχε τοῦ σώματος περιττῶς, καὶ γένους ἐπιφανῶς*; SKYLITZES, *Synopsis*, 434 (*CSHB*, 556); PSELLOS, *Εἰς τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς Σκληραίνης*, 193, line 77, *τοῖς μαργάροις κρύπτει σε, τοῖς λίθοις πλέον* ..., and cf. 191, lines 14-18, *τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα, τῶν φρενῶν ἡ σεμνότης* / ... *ἡ τῶν Χαρίτων εὐπρεπὴς κατοικία,* / *ἡ πᾶν τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις μόνη* / *ἔχουσα* ..., and cf. *passim*; for her voice see *ibid.*, 194f, lines 103-10 and 131-5. For a funerary epitaph on a certain Skleraina, see *Codex Marc.*, 155f (no. 260).

(118) *Chronographia*, VI (Constantine IX), 151, *οὔτε τὸ εἶδος ἀξιοθέατον* ... *δυσὶ δὲ μόναις κεκόσκητο* (sic) *χάρισι, λευκὸν ἦν τὴν χροιὰν καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπήστραπτεν ὄμμασιν*, cf. *ibid.*, 153-4 and 183 (Renauld, II, 45-7 and 60); *ibid.*, VI (Constantine IX), 152, *τήν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν ἀσυνήθης κόσμος ἐκύκλου, καὶ ἡ δέρη χρυσῷ κατηγλαΐστο, ἐπικάρπιοί τε ὄφεις χρυσοῖ τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτῇ διενέμοντο, καὶ τῶν ὤτων μαργαρῖται βαρεῖς ἀπεκρέμαντο, ἡ δὲ ζώνη, χρυσὸς δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μαργάρων ὁρμαθὸς ἐσχημάτιζέ τε καὶ διεποίκιλλε· καὶ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ Πρωτεὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἐξαλλάττων καὶ ποικιλλόμενος* (trans. SEWTER, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, 236).

frequently no detailed physical description is given, as in the case of Maraptike, the prostitute for whom Andronikos I had "a most ardent and passionate love — greater even than that of Demetrios Poliorketes of ancient times for Lamia, whom Ptolemy took captive when campaigning in Cyprus" ([119]).

In determining the qualities and features which comprised the ideal empress, it should be remembered that most imperial ladies married very young, and that child brides, whether Byzantines or foreign princesses, were the norm rather than the exception, especially from the late twelfth century. Eirene Doukaina was twelve at her marriage, and empress before she was fifteen ; Theodora, wife of Baldwin III was in her thirteenth year ; Agnes-Anna of Savoy was eleven when she married Andronikos and eight when she married Alexios II ; Margaret-Maria of Hungary married Isaac II Angelos at nine, though Piroshka-Eirene was eighteen when she married John II in 1104 and Bertha-Eirene had remained in Constantinople for over three years before marrying Manuel, the delays not being due to her youth but to Manuel's negotiations for better terms for the alliance. Piroshka was, of course, the first foreigner after Maria of Alania to marry an emperor in this period, and set the trend for diplomatic alliances for the emperor : Bertha, Mary of Antioch, Agnes of France, Margaret of Hungary were all "imported" as imperial brides, while the twelfth century closes with the Byzantine Euphrosyne, whose marriage to Alexios Angelos long pre-dated his imperial plans ([120]). The foreigness of these non-Greek speaking empresses, which could lead to virulent hatred in the case of Mary of Antioch, must have intensified the distant untouchability and silent resplendence which characterised empresses of all periods, Byzantine or otherwise. The empress' status was also greatly affected by the birth of an heir, a matter of great moment which invariably altered the standing both of the empress and of aristocratic women, for whom childlessness was an extreme evil. Manuel's grief at not having a son until 1169 was intense, and was clearly a cause of

(119) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 347 (*CSHB*, 452 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 191).

(120) BRYENNIOS, *Historia*, III, 6 (Gautier, 221 ; *CSHB*, 107) ; *Alexiad*, III, 3, 3 (Leib, I, 111) ; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVIII, 22 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 857) ; CHONIATES, *Historia*, 275 and 368 (*CSHB*, 357 and 481) ; for the non-Byzantine reaction to such brides, see Ivanko's comment on seeing the baby Theodora, granddaughter of Alexios III, to whom he was betrothed, *ibid.*, 473 (*CSHB*, 623).

anxiety to the populace at large, while the prayers of Mary of Antioch for a safe delivery can be matched by Kallikles' poem for Anna, wife of the sevastos John Arvantenos, to accompany her gift to the Virgin of a golden peplos, that she might carry a child full term, while the problems that childlessness could cause in a marriage can be seen in the epitaph for Eirene Synadene, wife of Manuel Botaneiates, women in general being quick to boast of their success at bearing children to continue the inheritance of their houses ([121]).

Imperial feminine beauty was thus traditionally a concept of importance to Byzantine empresses and the qualities of which it was comprised can be summarized as follows, as set out in great measure in Anna Komnena's portraits of her protagonists: the shape of the face should, for preference, be oval; eyes should be impressive, and indicative of majesty and dignity, light blue being the most suitable colour, and set well apart; eyebrows should be arched and a marked feature of the expression; the nose, if mentioned, should be close to aquiline; the skin should be white and unflawed, with the cheeks a rosy-red; and the most popular colour of hair was blond or red-gold. Symmetry of limbs and body, and a figure proportionately balanced, was essential for a Byzantine beauty, and she should be of medium height or taller with an upright stance: while young girls should be slender, a degree of plumpness was not necessarily a disqualification. With these attributes went the need for a dignified carriage and the ability to maintain regal immobility, and it is important that Anna compares all those whom she eulogises to statues or artistic productions. The eyes, which should in the company of men outside of the immediate family remain downcast, are a pointer to the bearing and behaviour expected of an empress: they must appear neither sluggish nor roving, but generally calm, grave and steady with the potential, when necessary, for rapid and imperious glances. Tornikes, for example, emphasises

(121) *Ibid.*, 80-2 and 144f (*CSHB*, 106-8 and 188f); KINNAMOS, VI, 2 and 6 (*CSHB*, 256f and 266); KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 340f (no. XXVI; Romano, 104f, no. 26); *Codex Marc.*, 45-7, 177 and 161-3 (nos. 84, 272 and 334); *ibid.*, 40 (no. 75), lines 10-3, *Μακρὸν δὲ συζήσασα τούτῳ τὸν χρόνον / οὐκ ἔσχε μητρὸς κλῆσιν εὐτυχηκέναι, / οὐ χερσὶ συσχεῖν ἐνσπαρὲν ταύτῃ βρέφος. / Ὅσων ὀδυνῶν αἴτιον τοῦτο κρίνεις*; and cf. 148 (no. 246) (Eirene, daughter of Sophia), lines 92f, *Ἐξ εὐγενῶν δὲ σχοῦσα τὸν συνευνέτην, / καὶ παῖδα τίκτω· τοῦτο τοῦ γάμου πέρας*, and PRODROMOS, "Scripta Miscellanea", XXI, cols. 1402f.

Anna Komnena's eyes as her most important feature, both regarding her physical appearance and as an indicator of her inward character ([122]).

The empress' eyes are naturally the most important feature of her face, since outside the women's quarters a veil, one of the most important sartorial accessories for Byzantine women, covered her mouth, revealing only her eyes and nose : the empress' veil was of course suitably ornate and matched imperial outfits appropriate to her rank. Hence only sources that are closely familiar with the subject describe the mouth or teeth, and the mouth or smile is not normally mentioned by historians, who concentrate on eyes, nose, cheeks and the shape of the face generally. The colouring — golden hair and blue eyes — which was favoured, is perhaps significant in view of the racial backgrounds of the empresses of this period : the Byzantine empire had always been a racial melting-pot, and it is of interest that of the two empresses for whom we have excessively detailed descriptions, Maria hailed from Georgia and Eirene Doukaina was partly of Bulgarian blood, through her mother Maria. Psellos, too, in his eulogy over his dead daughter, records the ideal canon of Byzantine beauty, and one which was clearly applied in greater or lesser degrees to empresses by their biographers. He makes much of Styliane's beauty, and describes her as having black eyes with very black eyebrows, an oval face with very white skin and rosy cheeks, a straight nose and mouth with very red lips, crystal teeth and long dark-blonde hair which reached her feet. Her hands were like ivory, her ankles graceful and white and her body symmetrical and beautiful ([123]). Beauty is of course, here as elsewhere, an indicator of inward virtue and character in itself, as well as of nobility, as Anna Komnena in particular makes clear, while flattery, of the appearance and character of empresses, was a commonplace for courtiers and poets, with eulogistic references to imperial women becoming the norm by the mid eleventh century, as Zoe's

(122) BROWNING, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration", 11, *ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μεγέθους ὑπαυγάζοντες χαροπόν, οὐ περιφερόμενοι καὶ περιδονούμενοι, ψυχῆς ἀστατούσης καὶ ῥεμβώδους σύμβολα, οὐδὲ στάσιμοι πέραν τοῦ μετρίου καί νωχελεῖς, νωθροτέρας ἕξεως σήμαντρα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ γοργοῦ καὶ εὐστρόφου ὁπότε δέοι κινήματος, τὸ πλέον ἑστῶτες καὶ βεβηκότες.*

(123) Phaidon KOUKOULES, *'Βυζαντινὰ καὶ οὐχὶ τουρκικὰ ἔθιμα'*, in *BZ*, 30 (1929-30), 180-5 ; PSELLOS, *'Εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα Στυλιανὴν πρὸ ὥρας γάμου τελευτήσασαν'*, in SATHAS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, V, 68-73 ; Michael J. KYRIAKIS, "Medieval European Society as Seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos", I, in *BSEB*, 3 (2) (1976), 87-9 ; and see A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, "Styliané", in *Byzantion*, 39 (1969), 155-63.

extravagant rewards for exaggerated compliments and Anna's portrait of Maria the Alan as Love incarnate and her suggestion that her mother Eirene could quite truthfully be described as a mortal Athena make clear. Empresses and other female members of the imperial family, however intellectual, were obviously amenable to courtly flattery, which itself was perhaps not unconnected with the increasing use of romantic imagery in the twelfth century and the revival of the romance genre under the stimulus of contact with westerners and the advent of western-born princesses at the Byzantine court as empresses and members of the imperial family, many of whom were desirous of showing themselves to be patrons of literature thus setting the tone for Byzantine ladies, and this led to the flourishing of poetry written specifically for female patrons, works which, of necessity, dealt very largely with the virtues of those who commissioned them and clearly demonstrated that imperial women did not dislike their appearance in verse nor the compliments addressed to them, however fulsome or unrealistic. That such flattery dealt primarily with physical appearance and family origins, is perhaps only to be expected, but intellect and education too find their place when appropriate. Physical descriptions, in fact, in occasional poems, as in historical sources, tend to be general rather than specific, being stereotyped to conform to an ideal, and it is usual for each feature and attribute to be noted and catalogued ; where the physical appearance is not discussed at length, it is generally included in a long catalogue of the virtues essential for any aristocratic or imperial lady, such as modesty, charity, noble birth, parenthood, intelligence, generosity, piety and wisdom ([124]).

Ostentatious dress, ornaments, jewels and beauty aids were, of course, very dear to the heart of all Byzantines, and particularly a feature of life at the court, so much so that sumptuary legislation was at times thought necessary. John II Komnenos, on his accession, prohibited the wear of such ostentatious dress and footwear, and "was so fastidious as to the decorum and deportment of the members of his family that he would inspect the cut of their hair and carefully scrutinize the shoes on their feet to see if the leather had been sewn

(124) E. JEFFREYS, "The Comnenian Background", 455-86, esp. 478-80. For such "catalogue descriptions" see also the 12th. century romances of PRODROMOS (I, 39ff), EUGENIANOS (I, 120ff) and MAKREMBOLITES (III, 6), described by Herbert HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II (Munich, 1978), 119-42.

to the exact shape of the foot". He also cleared the palace of idle and filthy conversation during public audiences and of profligacy and extravagance in food and dress. But, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the use of make-up and other beauty aids was in fact a normal and acceptable part of the empress' *toilette*, despite Psellos' praise of Maria the Alan for failing to employ such accessories, and though Zoe was certainly unique in having her apartments in the palace devoted to the production of cosmetics, she was no more unique than Maria who did not use cosmetics at all (according to her historian). That Bertha-Eirene utilised no such aids, and considered them only suitable for "silly" women, was not only cause for comment by historians, but was considered to be one of the contributory factors leading to her husband's neglect. Psellos, referring to the retiring nature and casual dress of Constantine X Doukas, treats the use of cosmetics as commonplace, and specifically points out that beautiful women, whose attractions are enhanced by simple clothes, have no need of such products, a garment carelessly worn by *them* being just as effective, as the most carefully-prepared make-up ([125]). Choniates, however, suggests, in his apostrophe over the misfortunes of Constantinople, that too obvious a use of cosmetics was traditionally considered to be the prerogative of prostitutes ([126]). Psellos' mother, Theodote, that picture of perfect womanhood in her son's eyes, of course did not approve of such wordly

(125) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 46f (*CSHB*, 63f ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 27) ; *Chronographia*, VII (Isaac I), 87 (Renauld, II, 135), ... *τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ προβεβλημένῳ νέφει τηλεφανέστερον διαυγάζουσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐταῖς ὁ ἀμελὴς κόσμος καλλωπισμὸς ἀκριβέστατος*. But cf. his letter to the Caesar John Doukas, ed. GAUTIER, "Quelques lettres de Psellos", 135f (no. 7), where he suggests that women need frequently to change their ornaments (like a bride changing from her purple and golden finery ... *πορφύρα ταύτην ἐκόσμει καὶ χρυσῆ ταινία καὶ ἐπωμὶς ἐξηνθισμένη κόσμῳ παντοδαπῷ καὶ ἡ στηθοδεσμὶς ἠλεκτρίνη* ... to *χρυσοϋφῆ ἐσθῆτα* on subsequent days to remain attractive and avoid satiating onlookers) and that, like them, he will set off his letter to the Caesar with an ever-changing variety of adornments (... *ἑλλόβια λογικὰ καὶ περιδέραια γνωστικὰ καὶ περιτραχήλιοι κόσμοι καὶ ἐπιστήθιοι*).

(126) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 498f (*CSHB*, 661f ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 274f), "In no way do you differ from a queen all-blessed, nobly beautiful, shapely and comely, who is seized by the hand of shameless lovers whom the prudent deem worthless. Celebrated and renowned, you have taken on a harlot's face. Gone is your simple beauty, the modesty of your manner, and your temperate and chaste mode of life. Your face is heavily made up with cosmetics and paints (*περίεργον δὲ καὶ μετεγγραφὲν ἐντρίψεσι καὶ φαρμάκοις τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον* ...). They who have violated you have transformed your once beautiful, admirable, and lovely form to that of a courtesan".

luxuries and is obviously unique amongst her sex for disdaining all aids to adornment ([127]), while, according to Basil of Ochrid in his eulogy of Bertha-Eirene, women in general are thought to have too great a predilection for bedecking themselves in unsuitable finery to enhance their charms ([128]). Naturally, just as Psellos praised the empress Maria of Alania, for not wearing make-up or other adornments, neither did he approve of his young daughter Styliane being too concerned with such embellishments, which would blasphemously "shame her honest features" and spoil her "unblemished, sunlike beauty". Here too, at a non-imperial level, it is implied that the use of make-up was normal, possibly for girls of marriageable age but certainly for Byzantine women generally, in particular at the imperial court. Among these ornaments and beauty aids, which by implication other women employed, but for which his beautiful daughter Styliane, whose beauty outshone dresses woven with pearls, jewels and gold thread, had no need, Psellos includes the following :

> "Ornaments belong to those who lack grace, and to the ugly ; also to the unnatural and the misshapen. For when ornaments seek to embellish natural beauty, they accept defeat willingly. Such ornaments include necklaces around the neck, earrings, transparent finery of the breast, kerchiefs and hair ribbons, but also perfumes that charm or those unnatural mixtures, the inventions of man. All these along with magic skills, but also appliances, instruments, charms and wigs can decorate after a fashion beyond the decent and decorous, but will soon reveal those who employ them as being false and vain" ([129]).

Nevertheless, it is clear that at court such refinements were not merely a usual, but even a necessary part of the upbringing of young girls. Eirene, daughter of Sophia, and granddaughter of the sevastokrator Isaac, whose father was of the Dokeianoi family, describes her own

(127) PSELLOS, *'Εγκώμιον*', 23, *ἐδυσχέραινε γὰρ πᾶσαν εὐνὴν μαλακὴν καὶ τὴν περιττὴν τῶν περιβλημάτων τρυφήν, καὶ οὔτε χρόας αὐτὴν ἀνθηρὸν ἄνθος, οὔτε μαλακότης ὑφάσματος, οὐ λαμπρότης ἐσθῆτος, οὐκ ἄλλό τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐδυσώπει καὶ ἔθελγεν ...* .

(128) REGEL & NOVOSADSKIJ, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, XX, 323, ... *χρυσοφοροῦσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες πολλάκις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆν ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐπορίαν ἀβρυνόμεναι καὶ θεατριζόμεναι.*

(129) *Εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα Στυλιανὴν*, 76 and 73, ... *περιαυχένιοι κόσμοι καὶ περιδέρραιοι, ἢ ὥτων ἑλλόβια, ἢ στέρνων διαφανῆ καλλωπίσματα, ἢ κρηδέμνων καὶ ἀμφιδέσμων πυργώματα, ἢ γεγοητευμένων φαρμάκων κράσεις καὶ μίξεις ἀντίθεοι, ἢ πλοκάμων ἀλλοτρίων εὑρέματά τε καὶ μαγγανεύματα ...* ; trans. KYRIAKIS, "Medieval European Society", 91 and 89f.

imperial descent and royal upbringing, in which, surrounded by attendants, she enjoyed as a baby the advantages of bed, clothes and fingers decorated with gold as a matter of course, and even gold earrings and gold and purple footwear ; at the appropriate age, together with suitable tutors and all proper care, she graduated to gold headdresses and other ornaments before her marriage, nor in her account of this sheltered and affectionate upbringing is there any hint of more serious concerns, and John Roger's dedication of his wife's jewelry to the Theotokos after her death shows that not only were such things worn, but that valuable pieces were socially acceptable as public and publicised offerings ([130]). Such luxury was commonplace, though it was alien to the viewpoint of non-Byzantines, as can be seen from the German envoys' reaction to Byzantine fashion at the court of Alexios III Angelos in 1196, which was one of shock and disapproval when they saw the emperor in his imperial robe set with precious stones and his court with their splendid garments with the broad purple stripe interwoven with gold. The Germans considered such garb and ornaments to be servile and effeminate luxuries and to imply cowardice in warfare, and they taunted the Greeks for being worshippers of ornaments and garments secured by brooches (*ἐμπορπημάτων καὶ στολισμάτων*) suited only for women whose prerogative it was to indulge in painted faces, headdresses, and glittering earrings (*ἡ κονία καὶ κρήδεμνα καὶ ἐνώτια παμφανόωντα*) for man's pleasure, and for being adorned by precious stones like meadows in bloom and dressed, and swelled with arrogance, like peacocks ([131]), while western observers had long commented on the luxurious clothes and jewels they saw worn in Byzantium by the populace and at the imperial court ([132]).

(130) *Codex Marc.*, 146-51 (no. 246), lines 69-72, *Χρυσὸς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφεκόσμει τὴν κλίνην, / χρυσὸς τὰ χιτώνια, χρυσὸς δακτύλους. / Ἐνωτίων ἔχαιρον αὐγαῖς χρυσέων / τὴν βάσιν εἶχον χρυσοπόρφυρον πόδες* ; for Sophia and Eirene, see *ibid.*, 160f (no. 271). Cf. PRODROMOS' poem on the birth of Alexios, son of the sevastokrator Andronikos and Eirene (HÖRANDNER, 410 (no. XLIV), lines 150-2), *ἔστι σοι πλοῦτος περισσός, χρυσοϋφεῖς ἐσθῆτες / τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ βρεφικὰ καὶ σπαργανώδη ῥάκη / χρυσᾶ καὶ λιθοκόλλητα καὶ βρίθοντα μαργάροις / ... καὶ τἄλλα τὰ τῆς μείζονος βασιλικῆς ἀξίας.*

(131) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 46f and 477f (*CSHB*, 62f and 628-30 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 27 and 262).

(132) *Fulcher of Charters. A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita RYAN & ed. Harold S. FINK (New York, 1973), I, IX, 1 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, III, 331f ; trans. RYAN, *ibid.*, 79) ; SIGURD the Crusader (1111), in Thomas WRIGHT (trans.), *Early Travels in Palestine. Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Saewulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, de la*

While the degree to which the people of Constantinople saw or participated in the ritual which surrounded their emperors and which of necessity revolved around the palace, or knew the details and traditions which regulated the royal lifestyle, is uncertain, it is clear that, apart from the imperial processions to St. Sophia and other churches in the city at the appropriate occasions, ceremonial appearances of the imperial family, in the *kathisma* of the hippodrome or elsewhere, had long been part of life of the capital, when the emperor and his immediate family, resplendent in rich clothes and jewels, were exhibited to the people, inviting the adoration of their subjects. In much the same way, this display of the emperor and empress was a commonplace of life even within the palace, where, indeed, most of the ritual and ceremonial necessarily took place, particularly from the tenth century when public imperial occasions in the hippodrome began to give way to more frequent private ceremonial within the palace, and Constantine IX Monomachos, in theatrically exhibiting his mistress, the Alan princess, to her father's envoys was following the traditional ceremonial practices for the emperor and empress. Moreover, in the mid twelfth century, and perhaps not unconnected with the visit of the Second Crusade to the capital, the scene for such public theatrical presentation to celebrate a certain religious festival or a landmark in the emperor's life appears to have changed from the hippodrome to less specific venues, the structure and ethos of the ceremonial, however, remaining the same : the imperial family appeared on a high platform to the accompaniment of music and acclamations or eulogies, in glittering robes and laden with jewellery. The ceremony generally seems to have taken place after dark, and the imperial party were concealed by curtains which, at the psychological moment, were pulled aside to reveal them to the populace. Great stress was placed on their magnificence and height relative to that of the onlookers, and this vision of royalty was accompanied by suitable music and poetic declamations. The appearance of the imperial family was thus stereotyped and depended much on their splendour and unapproachability, and the ceremonial was geared to presenting them as more than human : to what extent

Brocquère and Maundrell (London, 1848), 75 ; ROBERT OF CLARI, LXXXII-LXXXIII (Lauer, 81-4 ; trans. MCNEAL, *Conquest of Constantinople*, 102-5) ; cf. ODO, *De Profectione*, 87 ; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XX, 23-4 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I (2), 983-7) ; for BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, a Spanish rabbi who visited the capital in 1161, see WRIGHT, *Early Travels*, 75.

the populace would have recognised the ladies of the imperial family personally or been able to distinguish individual characteristics is a moot point, while the imperial trappings — robes, crowns and diadems, jewels — would have been the very essence of royalty in the eyes of the audience, who saw their emperor and empress only at a distance and in circumstances deliberately designed to emphasize their semi-divine qualities. While the hippodrome appearances were of course an essential part of the lifestyle of the capital prior to the disaster of 1204, the imperial family's role was to be themselves a spectacle of equal or greater worth than the entertainment there laid on, and to embody the imperial image of reserve and majesty rather than to participate in the enjoyment of the spectacle ([133]). With regard to the populace's personal acquaintance with the appearance of their emperor and empress, Liutprand of Cremona cites a story regarding the city guards' failure to recognise the Emperor Leo VI, whom they imprisoned by mistake, and if it were possible for the emperor himself not to be recognised by his subjects without the imperial insignia, it seems very likely that the empress' appearance would be even less known to the inhabitants of the capital and empire. Nevertheless, it is possible that Margaret-Maria of Hungary expected, according to Robert of Clari, to be recognised by the people of Adrianople, when she was with Boniface of Montferrat at the siege of that city. It should also be borne in mind that, even at imperial receptions within the palace, it was customary, during the joint reign of Zoe and Theodora at least, for the attendant bodyguard to keep their eyes fixed on the ground in an attitude of respect ([134]).

(133) Michael J. JEFFREYS, "The Comnenian Prokypsis", in *Parergon*, n. s. 5 (1987), 38-53 ; CAMERON, "Construction of Court Ritual", 130-2 ; for Sigurd the Crusader's stories about games in the hippodrome, where the emperor and empress would both back different sides, see WRIGHT, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 59, and cf. 60 for the tale of Sigurd's inviting both emperor and empress to a feast where all the cooking was done with walnuts instead of firewood, which impressed the empress immensely ; and ROBERT OF CLARI, XC (Lauer, 88) ; and for the late eleventh century Arab writer Marvasi's account of games in the Hippodrome, see V. MINORSKY, "Marvasi on the Byzantines", in *Mélanges H. Grégoire* : *AIPHO*, 10 (1950), 462.

(134) LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, "Antapodosis", in *MignePL*, 136, col. 795 ; trans. GEANAKOPLOS, *Byzantium*, 25, "... do you not know the emperor Leo ?" "How could I know him", the man responded, "a man I do not remember having seen ? Certainly, on public occasions when he passes by, I have seen him from a distance (for I was unable to get close), but I felt I was looking at a marvel and not a man" ; PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI (Zoe & Theodora), 3 (Renauld, I, 118), ... *σὺν αἰδοῖ ξύμπαντες καὶ βλέμματι ἀπερειδομένῳ πρὸς τὴν γῆν.*

These exhibitions of the royal family were not, however, the only way in which the populace should become familiar with the physical appearance of their empress. Apart from the portraits of rulers in St. Sophia, such as that of John II and Piroshka-Eirene and their son Alexios, in the south gallery, and mosaics and paintings in the imperial palaces, it was usual, in the twelfth century at least, for pictorial representations of emperors with their consorts to be prominently displayed in the city's public places : indeed, Andronikos I had those of Mary of Antioch erased and repainted in as unflattering a manner as possible, since he feared the effect her beauty might have on passers-by. These were later replaced with portraits of himself, on his own or with his young bride, and imperial portraits, indeed, seem to have been displayed not only in Constantinople but in every provincial town, it being customary for high officials to commission portraits of the emperor to decorate their houses or religious foundations. It was also usual for emperors to decorate new buildings with paintings or mosaics of their recent deeds ; according to Choniates, Andronikos, having no such deeds of which to boast, substituted for them representations of his latest hunting triumphs, while the huge painted panel erected outside the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sevaste was criticised for showing him not in the imperial regalia but apparently in the garb of an agricultural labourer, with turquoise tunic and long white boots and wielding a scythe. His portraits were later destroyed by the mob after his deposition and death. In some of these pictures the ruling imperial couple are portrayed together, and Mary of Antioch is shown with Manuel in a work described in an anonymous contemporary poem, with dynastic portrait groups frequently being commissioned for private houses, while literary descriptions and dedications of portraits of noble couples and members of the imperial family, past and present, show them to have been frequently met with in churches and monasteries as well as in secular environments. Despite a degree of realistic portrayal, imperial art of this period in general presents stylized and formulaic characterization, displaying emperors and empresses in full regalia in full-length frontal poses, and emphasizing in particular, their regality and unchanging distance from the rest of mankind, which would have impressed the onlooker with the imperial couples' majesty and splendour rather than with any idea of the personalized qualities of the emperor or empress ([135]).

(135) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 332f and 352 (CSHB, 432-4 and 460) ; according to

The implication, which becomes clear from a study of historians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is that all empresses are expected to wish to look resplendent and to utilise the assets of their position to appear as majestic and awe-inspiring as possible ([136]), acting as a focus for the magnificence of the court as a whole, where the protocol, pomp and solemn ceremonial highlighted the emperor and empress' semi-divine qualities, which were reflected in the ornate splendour of their dress and ornaments. Indeed, the empress would have been intrinsically linked in the popular mind with her gorgeous vestments and imperial regalia, since dress, and its differentiation, remained an integral part of Byzantine court etiquette and protocol; all ranks in the official hierarchy of the court and city were clearly signalled by the uniform, the colour, and the insignia traditionally suitable for the wearer. The cry of the women, who, remembering Zoe's lineage and imperial heritage, rioted in the streets of Constantinople in 1042 in protest at Michael V's tonsuring and banishment of his adopted mother Zoe, are said to have cried, "Where can she be ... she who alone is noble of heart and alone is beautiful?", which, since Zoe was at the time sixty-two and hardly of unblemished character, shows the ordinary Byzantine's concept of the empress as a magnificent and ageless — indeed almost Godlike — figure, while Skylitzes confirms the reverence and loyalty with which she was viewed by the rioters, who shouted *ἡμεῖς σταυροπάτην καλαφάτην βασιλέα οὐ θέλομεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχέγονον καὶ κληρονόμον καὶ ἡμετέραν μητέρα Ζωήν* ([137]). Significant also is the

KINNAMOS, VI, 6 (*CSHB*, 266), Alexios Axouch fell into disgrace because he commissioned paintings not of Manuel or other suitable subjects, but of the sultan's martial deeds, to decorate his private residence; MAGDALINO, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art", 123-42 and 162-183; *Codex Marc.*, 19-21, 37f, 127f, 148-50, 151f and 172f (nos. 50 [John the protosevastos, Manuel's nephew, and his wife], 51 [John the protosevastos], 72 [Alexios I, John II and Manuel, commissioned for the protosevastos and displayed outside his house], 111 [Alexios I, John II, Manuel and Basil II], 221 [Manuel and Mary], 224 [Constantine and Michael Doukas, Romanos IV, Botaneiates, Alexios, John and Manuel], 225 [?John II and Piroshka], 247 [Manuel], 315 [Manuel] and 318 [John, Manuel and Alexios II]); KALLIKLES, *Carmina*, 338-40 (no. XXV; Romano, 102-4, no. 25) [Alexios I and John II]; HÖRANDNER, 395f (no. XLI) [John II]; BALSAMON, "Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon, ed. Konstantin HORNA, in *Wiener Studien*, 25 (1903), 184f, 190f and 200f (nos. XVII, XXVII and XLIII) [Isaac II]. For Byzantine manuscript illumination, see H. BELTING, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970).

(136) *Chronographia*, VI (Constantine IX), 64 (Renauld, I, 148) on Zoe.

(137) *Ibid.*, V, 23 and 26 (Renauld, I, 100 and 102f); SKYLITZES, *Synopsis*, 418 (*CSHB*, 537). Cf. *ibid.*, 434 (*CSHB*, 556), when the populace fears that the elderly

fact that, according to historians, it was the crowd' seeing Zoe without her imperial robes, and tonsured and dressed plainly in her nun's habit, that sparked off the most serious phase of the demonstration and popular riot, while Skylitzes, too, relates that Michael's first action on bringing Zoe back to the palace, after he bowed to the people's displeasure at her exile, was to change her habit for imperial robes, but, even so, he failed to placate the mob in the hippodrome sufficiently and this lost him his throne and his sight ([138]). In the same way, after Zoe's death, when the Alan princess blossomed forth in all glory as Constantine Monomachos' "empress", her appearance was instantaneously transformed by the assumption of exotic and resplendent necklaces, bracelets, belts and earrings of gold and precious jewels, befitting her new "position".

The empress' role is thus very much a public one, consisting primarily of displaying herself to the populace and court. But while empresses are supposed to participate in ceremonial receptions and be part of the traditional stage-setting, her involvement must remain within bounds. Many empresses are praised for their intelligence or determination, but the Empress Euphrosyne is criticized for encroaching too heavily on her husband's prerogatives as emperor and being too obviously a sharer in his majesty as well as his power, as is evidenced by the excessive splendour of her appearance in public — generally at the majestic imperial audiences and receptions — and the distinction paid to her by courtiers. While it is occasionally implied that empresses in certain circumstances may be accused of over-extravagance, Euphrosyne' splendour in itself is not under criticism : it is her misuse of power that draws comment and the fact that she is rivalling the ceremonial role of the emperor ([139]). Indeed, it is clear how the Church officially

empresses might suffer from Constantine IX Monomachos' passion for his mistress Skleraina, *ἡμεῖς τὴν Σκλήραιναν βασίλισσαν οὐ θέλομεν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτὴν αἱ μάνναι ἡμῶν αἱ πορφυρογέννητοι Ζωή τε καὶ Θεοδώρα θανοῦνται.*

(138) *Chronographia*, V, 32 (Renauld, I, 106) ; ZONARAS, *Epitome*, XVII, xix (*CSHB*, III, 611-3), *Ἤδη δὲ τὴν βασιλίδα ἀνακομισθεῖσαν στήσαντες ἐπὶ μετεώρου ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τοῖς στασιάζουσιν ἐπεδείκνυον, ἵνα δῆθεν αὐτοῖς κατευνασθῇ ὁ θυμός, ἀνακληθείσης τῆς σφετέρας δεσπότιδος. Τοῖς δὲ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀνῆψε τὸν θυμὸν ... Ὡς γὰρ μετημφιεσμένην αὐτὴν ἑωράκεισαν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνερράγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ...* ; SKYLITZES, *Synopsis*, 419 (*CSHB*, 538), *... ἀποδύσας αὐτὴν τὰ μοναχικὰ μετημφίασε βασιλικοῖς περιβλήμασι.*

(139) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 460f (*CSHB*, 607 ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 252f). For the flattery and attentions paid her, see also *ibid.*, 456f (*CSHB*, 601f) where Euphrosyne consolidates her husband's position in the capital and the courtiers

viewed the function of the empress for Balsamon stresses that empresses do not share in their husbands' semi-sacerdotal role and that the soul of their subjects is not their concern. They must restrict their interests and activities purely to bodily welfare, the role of the emperor including the enlightening and strengthening of both soul and body, that of the patriarch limited to the benefit of souls, and only souls, while the empress' concern for her subjects is limited to material things, women being devoid of the power of giving help on a more spiritual plane ([140]). Indeed, the convention of behaviour is that on all occasions in public the empress should remain in dignified silence, for which Maria of Alania and Eirene Doukaina are praised by Psellos and Anna, while Choniates makes clear in his strictures on the reprehensible behaviour of the Empress Euphrosyne her failure to observe this canon of female propriety, for she not only squanders the empire's substance on embellishments and luxury, but ignores the traditions and conventions laid down by former empress and is able, most improperly, to prevail over her husband to alter established conventions and devise new ones and give commands with equal authority to that of the emperor, often, indeed, overriding his decrees to suit her whim ([141]). Nevertheless, should the empress be forced to speak, it is important that her voice be graceful and harmonious, like Skleraina's when talking to Psellos and other courtiers, or like the charming voice of Eirene Doukaina, who for the most part, however, kept her lips closed, and who resembled, when silent, a statue of beauty and harmony. Psellos comments, too, on the voices of those women who themselves wielded the imperial power in his time, Zoe and Theodora, who speak quietly (*ἠρεμαίᾳ φωνῇ*), as is right, and emphasizes the sweetness of Skleraina's tones, while the pronouncements of Eudokia Makrembolitissa are made in authoritative tones, as befits, in Psellos' view, a lady who breaks her vow to her

fawn at her feet like puppies and lie on their backs like hogs, with their bellies stroked and their ears tickled by her affable greetings. Her piteous and subdued expression (*ἐλεεινῷ καὶ ἀπεσβεσμένῳ βλέμματι*) when accused falsely of adultery shows her in a most unusual light and cf. her anger and revenge on her return from exile, goaded to Bacchic frenzy against her accusers, and wheedling her husband cunningly and insinuating herself back into his good graces despite his previous neglect of her charms (*ibid.*, 487 and 489 ; *CSHB*, 644 and 647).

(140) BALSAMON, "Meditata sive Responsa", in *MignePG*, 138, col. 1017 (trans. Ernest BARKER, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), 106).

(141) CHONIATES, *Historia*, 460 (*CSHB*, 606f ; trans. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium*, 252).

dying husband and raises to the purple one like Romanos Diogenes, while poets praise both Eirene the sevastokratorissa and Eudokia, sister of Manuel Komnenos, for their melodious voice and sweetness of address ([142]).

The position of an imperial fiancée, or empress-elect, was one of deep significance, as can be seen in the treatise of Palaiologue ceremonial by Pseudo-Kodinos, which discusses the protocol specifically laid down for the welcoming reception of such a princess on her arrival, whether by land or sea, and details the requisite venue, the officials and their wives who should meet her, the members of the royal family who should be present and in what order they should greet her, and the arrangements for her assumption of the red slippers, the insignia of power, and for her change of clothes into the correct and splendid imperial garments before her procession on horseback to the palace, and the subsequent ceremonial feasting, while the *εἰσητήριοι* welcoming imperial fiancées speak of the decorated streets thronged with the joyous populace, the lavish reception committees, the organs and music that accompanied the procession, the splendid festivities and the luxurious ceremonial that greeted such fortunate girls ([143]). The ostentation of the equipage provided for such princesses as Melisend, Agnes-Anna, Agnes of Montferrat and the daughter of Boril, shows the view of the empress' position and status held outside the empire. But, while she enjoyed reverence, prestige, wealth and even luxury in the imperial palaces, the empress herself and her behaviour and actions were still rigidly constrained by tradition and protocol, as can be seen in Anna Komnena's definition of imperial womanly propriety as seen in her grandmother Anna Dalassena, which comprised "the due proportion of warm humanity and strict moral principle". Her imperial image was deliberately and specifically one of unapproachability, and the major attributes expected of her were dignity, majesty, splendour of appearance and an untouchable gravity. Her appearances both in the city and at court emphasize her awesome regality, while her demeanour should rival the solemn stillness of the majesties of imperial China. Her cere-

(142) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI (Zoe & Theodora), 3 ; VII (Eudokia), I (Renauld, I, 118 ; II, 152) ; cf. CHONIATES, *Historia*, 146f (*CSHB*, 191) for Mary of Antioch ; *Codex Marc.*, 28 (no. 57), line 70, *γλυκερόφθογγον στόμα* (Eirene) ; *ibid.*, 159 (no. 270), line 29, *εἰς προσλαλιὰν καὶ μέλιτος γλυκίων* (Eudokia).

(143) VERPEAUX, *Traité des Offices*, 286f.

monial role was of great importance — the Patriarch Nicholas permitted Leo VI his third marriage (to Eudokia Baiana in 900), which was technically illegal, because of the necessity of having an empress in the palace to orchestrate the ritual of the court, especially with regard to the wives of nobles and officials ([144]) — but this role was primarily passive. Empresses were not free of the behavioural conventions which restrained other Byzantine women, and unless affairs of state demanded it, were expected to remain silent and immobile during imperial receptions and audiences and process in stately pomp to and from their commitments in the city.

Clearly it was part of the conventional attitude to the empress that both she and other women of the imperial family should be considered beautiful. It is hard to differentiate the empress' physical appearance from the trappings and insignia of her rank, and the suspicion arises that "fine feathers make fine birds", as the proverb remarks. In her jewelled pendant crown and red shoes decorated with pearls, her purple gold-embroidered robes stiff with pearls and precious jewels, with the advantages of necklaces, diadems, bracelets, earrings, rings, and girdles of priceless stones and gold (even silver is seldom mentioned in the context of an empress and is obviously an inferior metal for such purposes), the details of the empress' actual features and figure were almost irrelevant to the observer. The imperial image, underlined by the purple and gold which were the key-notes of her apparel, allowed little scope for individuality. It may even be surmised that few of the populace saw the empress except at a distance, in St. Sophia with her retinue, in processions, and in pictorial representations in the city (which themselves were marked by formality and traditionalism), and even at court the empress' role was still stylised and unbending. Certainly the major characteristic common to all descriptions of empresses of this period is their majesty of bearing and demeanour, which inspires respect and fear in the onlooker : Zoe and Theodora (though she tended to be cheerful), Maria of Alania, Eirene Doukaina and perhaps most fearsome of all, the masterful Euphrosyne, are all distinguished by attitudes or attributes which make them seem more than mortal in the eyes of the rest of the world. This being the concept of the ideal

(144) NICHOLAS I, *Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*, ed. R. J. H. JENKINS & L. G. WESTERINK (Washington, 1973), 220, *δεῖ δὲ γυναῖκα τῷ παλατίῳ προσεῖναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα τῶν σῶν ἀρχόντων ταῖς γυναιξίν.*

empress, the appurtanences of rank, as well as, of course, the rich imperial veil which covered the lower half of the face, would have helped still further to turn her into a symbol rather than an individual in the eyes of her subjects. Where we have detailed, if somewhat eulogistic rather than realistic, descriptions of empresses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they are owed to the pen of members of the imperial family, like Anna Komnena, or those who have the entrée to the court at the highest possible level, such as Psellos. These give us at least some idea of the different personalities and physical features of their female protagonists ; in general, however, historians without first-hand knowledge assume empresses to be handsome as a matter of course, as well as well-born and pious. Only in the case of Bertha-Eirene — a lady whose appearance seems to have been without any endearing qualities — does the convention falter, and even then it is only in historical narratives that any attempt at realistic description is made : the courtiers of the time, whether rhetorically or poetically inclined, see the empress as convention (and perhaps as she herself or her intimates) dictates that she be seen — radiantly beautiful. Normally such descriptions are no more than mere statements of fact : seldom do we have the advantage of a detailed eye-witness account. But from those that survive, it can be seen that the Byzantine concept of imperial beauty expected the empress, where possible, to possess golden hair, light blue eyes, with marked eyebrows, a white skin with rosy cheeks and a tallish and well-proportioned figure, which is significant evidence for the racial balance of the Byzantine court and imperial family in the eleventh and twelfth century and proof that, even in the Middle Ages of Byzantium, gentlemen preferred blondes. It is clear, too, that empresses liked to be thought beautiful : Anna's descriptions of both Maria of Alania and her mother, as well as her flattery of her maternal grandmother, show that eulogies of the empress' appearance, such as a comparison of her to an antique statue, were becoming the norm at court, and indeed, had become a standard feature of address to empresses in letters, eulogies and occasional poetry, though few went quite so far as Zoe in her approbation of those courtiers who collapsed as if struck by lightning at the sight of her attractions.

Another conclusion to be drawn from descriptions of Byzantine empresses and their behaviour and attributes is the general acceptance of — indeed the insistence upon — their ostentatious splendour of dress, jewellery and ornaments. The Byzantine reverence for austerity

and self-denial, which was often (though not by any means always) attributed to emperors, with great praise and flattery, as an ideal imperial virtue, was not, interestingly enough, expected of an empress, at least in the area of her public appearance. Many empresses are eulogised for their prudence, charity and piety but seldom, if ever, does this affect their style of dress or ornaments. Zoe, whose early career displays little evidence of self-denial in any respect, was said to be unusual in not wearing the heavy imperial brocaded robes, and her sister Theodora is depicted in them, though a nun, while Eirene Doukaina, who in her daughter's account is nearly a saint on earth, shows no signs of parting with her royal regalia, except after the death of her husband, when the contrast between her former sartorial glory and her present religious garb is poignantly emphasized by her daughter (145). Indeed, Anna makes the most of her mother's admirable propriety and majestic dignity, presupposing the traditional trappings of rank, which formed a normal part of any empress' wardrobe. While it is true that the Alan princess rather overdid her transformation into imperial rank (but then, she was only an "empress" in Constantine Monomachos' view), the necklaces, pendants, bracelets and other ornaments she assumed would not have been out of place in the context of an empress *proper*, and though it is hinted that empresses may be extravagant in this regard, Psellos and Choniates *just* failing to criticize Eudokia and Euphrosyne in this respect, clearly such criticism is reserved for extreme cases only. Empresses are expected to have a predilection for jewels and finery, and any empress who failed to employ such amenities would have been no real empress in the eyes of the court or populace. The same is true for the use of make-up : while lip-service is occasionally paid to its undesirability, it is only a very unusual empress who does not employ the aid of lipstick, rouge, eyeliner and face-powder.

Despite, therefore, some inevitable stereotyping of descriptions in the accounts of the empresses and their female relations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at least we gain some idea of what historians thought it important to record in this context. Empresses were thought to be beautiful, as they themselves liked to hear, irrespective of their

(145) See *Alexiad*, XV, 11, 20 (Leib, III, 240f), where immediately upon Alexios' demise Eirene changes her splendid veil, shoes and dress and shaves her hair. For the poem possibly by Kallikles, describing her as ... *χρυσενδύτις πρίν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ῥακενδύτις, / ἐν τριχίνοις νῦν ἡ τὸ πρὶν ἐν βυσσίνοις* ..., see above n. 59 ; and for Piroshka's change from imperial regalia into the monastic habit, see n. 71 and cf. n. 102.

actual characters, activities, education, intellectual pursuits, and political, social and cultural affiliations, and their physical presence and splendid appearance was an important factor in the ceremony of the court as well as being the major constituent of their public image. With her untouchable reserve and unrivalled dignity of demeanour the empress played an essential role in imperial functions and ceremonial, and she continuously upheld the majesty of the state by a resplendence of apparel and ostentation of ornament that was her most abiding and inalienable characteristic in the eyes of her subjects.

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ON THE "ARCHONTIKE" AND "EKKLESIASTIKE DYNASTEIA" AND "PROSTASIA" IN BYZANTIUM WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE LEGAL SOURCES A STUDY IN SOCIAL HISTORY OF BYZANTIUM

IV

The information that we have on the *archontike prostasia* from the sources after the end of the proto-Byzantine period is scanty. Monnier thought that the ancient *patrocinium* disappeared in Byzantium under the iconoclast emperors ([214]). This thesis is not supported by evidence from our sources which were not known to Monnier. In fact there are direct references to this institution in the Byzantine sources, but we do not know of any concrete account of the terms and conditions of agreements between a *prostates* and the *adynatos* seeking his *prostasia.*

Often the term *prostasia* is used in a different sense. For example, *prostates,* in the sense of the supervisor, is called the *hegoumenos* of monasteries and his "authority" over the other monks is called *prostasia* ([215]). *Prostasia* is also the administration of ecclesiastical and im-

(214) MONNIER, 105-6.

(215) Cf. *Vita S. Theodosii, op. cit.*, 46 ll. 14-15 : *τοὺς ἐν προστασίαις ἑτέρων διαλάμψαντας ἡγουμένους τε καὶ ἐπισκόπους* ; D. F. SULLIVAN, *Life of St Nikon*, (Brookline Mass., 1987), # 58 l. 77, 68 l. 22 ; *Kastamonitou* 2 l. 14, 3 l. 2 ; *Xenophon* 1 l. 167, 18 l. 16, 31 l. 13 ; *Kutlumus* 9 ll. 5, 23 ; 28 l. 14 ; *Zographou* 45 l. 12, 51 l. 13 ; *Lavra* I, 62 l. 35, 37 l. 14, 31 ll. 44, 67 ; *Protaton* 11 l. 137, 12 ll. 124, 152 ; *Dionysiou* 15 ll. 12, 28 ; *Panteleemon* 14 l. 13 ; TRINCHERA, nr 70 (p. 81 l. 1), 106 (p. 139 l. 7). In other texts the patriarch is called *prostates* : J. DARROUZÈS and L. G. WESTERINK, *Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance* (Paris, 1978), 35 (nr. 1 l. 63). Saints are also called *prostatai* : John MAUROPOUS, LAGARDE, *op. cit.*, p. 38 (nr 74), 119 (nr 179), 137 (nr 180), 207 (nr 188), as well as God : *ibid.*, 42 (nr 87), 69 (nr 125), 187 (nr 186).

perial *oikoi* (216). The same term is used to designate the "protection" which the guardian was expected to offer to orphans (217), or protection which must be given to widows (218). There is, however, enough evidence in the Byzantine texts to suggest that some forms of the ancient *patrocinium* survived in Byzantium, i.e. the personal and the rural patronage, while that between states and the municipal *patrocinium* had obviously disappeared in Antiquity. Michael Psellus, for example, in one of his letters addressed to the *krites* of the Opsikion, writes about a certain individual who needed protection because he was *ἀπροστάτευτος* (219). H. Ahrweiler remarks that this is evidence "d'un 'patronage' nouveau type" (220). The letters of Psellus offer further information on Byzantine *prostasia*. In a letter addressed to the *krites* of the thema of Thrakesion, Psellus is asking him to become a *prostates* of one of his relatives who suffer injustice from some state officers (221). In another letter the terms *prostasia* and *prostates* are used in two different contexts : a) the *krites* exercises his *prostasia* over the thema of Aigaion ; b) he can become a *prostates* of a particular individual by granting him tax exemptions (222). A *krites* could also become *prostates* to his subordinates (223). As in the earlier centuries, the term *prostates* is used to designate protection offered by members of the imperial family (224). A similar use of the term *prostasia* is attested in earlier centuries. For example, in a Novel of Heraclius (620-9) about the clerics of Constantinople, the legislator states that clerics often succeeded in being appointed to ecclesiastical offices against the laws and the ecclesiastical canons either by bribery or by *prostasiai* (*προστασίαις*) (225).

(216) Novel 13th of Leo VI, NOAILLES-DAIN, *op. cit.*, 53 ll. 14, 24 ; Novel of Romanus, ZEPOS 1, 209 l. 7. Cf. also MONNIER, 70-71.

(217) Novels 34 and 68 of Leo VI, 139 l. 3, 247 ll. 2, 8.

(218) John MAUROPOUS, p. 113 : *δοκοῦσί μοι καὶ χῆραι τοὺς προστάτας ἐπαινέσεσθαι.*

(219) PSELLUS, *Scripta Minora*, ed. G. Kurtz & F. Drexl (Milan, 1936), 2, 111 *ep.*81 (ll. 16-17).

(220) H. AHRWEILER, "Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle : nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités", *TM* 6 (1976), 116 and 109.

(221) PSELLUS, *Scr. min.* 2, p. 175 , *ep.* 150.

(222) *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4, *ep.* 137.

(223) *Ibid.*, p. 302, *ep.* 254.

(224) *Ibid.*, p. 110, *ep.* 80 : *καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ μεγαλύνει τὰ σὰ καὶ ὅλος προστάτης σου μέγας ἐστίν.*

(225) ZEPOS, 1, 35 l. 8 = J. KONIDARIS, "Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios", *Fontes Minores* V (Frankfurt, 1982), 74 l. 34. Cf. also H. SARADI, *op. cit.* On the typology of various forms of patronage cf. A. BLOK, "Variations in Patronage", *Sociologische gids* 16 (1969), 365-78.

In the 11th c. John of Euchaita refers to this practice (226). Canon law commentators also refer to it in the 12th c. (227). In the letters and homilies of John Mauropous, as in those of Psellus, the *prostasia* is documented with certainty. It is not clear, however, whether in some rhetorical passages the term *prostates* refers to an institutionalized relationship (228). In a letter addressed to the *vestarches* and *krites* of Macedonia, Chasanes, Psellus uses a vocabulary of the business world : *ὠνοῦμαι, χάρις, πιπράσκω, ἀλλακτική* (229). In other passages Mauropous refers to protection offered by a high officer of the imperial administration to a private individual who needed it (230). In one of his letters to a provincial judge, who had just been appointed, he recommends an officer of the previous judge (*οἰκειότατός τε κατέστη τῷ πρὸ σοῦ δικαστῇ*) ; he asks that this officer be treated in the same way, for a new archon is like a new *prostates* (*ἀντὶ ἄρχοντος ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάτην ἀντὶ προστάτου*). The new judge should understand that it is an obligation to support the recommended person, or at least he should consider it as doing a favour (231). In the *Strategikon* of Cecaumenus, making presents to archons in exchange for benefice appears to have been a common practice. It is strongly denounced. Those who

(226) Ed. LAGARDE, *op. cit.*, p. 162 : *οὐδὲ γὰρ χρημάτων τὴν ἄπρατον ὠνησάμεθα χάριν, οὐ θωπείαις ἐκλέψαμεν, οὐ δυναστείαις ἐβιασάμεθα, οὐ χάρισιν ἀλόγοις ἐκαπηλεύσαμεν ...*

(227) Cf. H. SARADI, *op. cit.*

(228) JOHN MAUROPOUS, *op. cit.*, p. 112 : *Δεῦρο τοιγαροῦν, ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ φύσις, συνερανίσασθέ μοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔπαινον, καὶ ἀγῶνα καλὸν ἀγωνίσασθε πρὸς ἀλλήλους — ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες ... ὁ μὲν ἐπανείτω τὸ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ προσευχαῖς οἷον ἀσώματόν τε καὶ ἄϋλον · ... ἄλλος τὸ ἐν προστασίαις τῶν δεομένων ...*

(229) PSELLUS, SATHAS, *MB*, 439 : *Οὐκ οἶδα, πότερον ὠνοῦμαι τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν χάριτας, ἢ πιπράσκω τοὺς λόγους ; Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλακτικῆς ἐστιν εἶδος τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα, τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐστίν· ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ λόγους παρ' ἐμοῦ, πράγματα δ' ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐμπορεύομαι· ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶ, πότερον ὠνοῦμαι, ἢ πωλῶ, ἢ μηδέτερον ; ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅλον ἀντάμειψις.*

(230) JOHN MAUROPOUS, *op. cit.*, 73 : *Τὸν ἰατρὸν μὲν ὁ κάμνων, ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων τὸν κυβερνήτην, τὸν δὲ προστάτην ὁ τυραννούμενος ἀναγκαίως ζητεῖ ... εὗρεν ὀψέ ποτε καὶ οὗτος ὁ τυραννούμενος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτην καὶ βοηθόν, ἐφ' ὃν καταφεύγει καὶ οὗ τῶν πτερύγων ὑποτρέχει τὴν σκέπην ὡς δρυὸς ὑψικόμου καὶ μεγάλου σκιὰν ὁδοιπόρος, τῷ πνίγει τοῦ θερείου θάλπους ἀπαγορεύων ... τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκείνοις δῆλον ὅτι μελήσει, τῷ μέν, ὅπως δόξοι τῷ δυναμένῳ σῴζειν ἐλεεινός, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐκτραγωδήσας ἀξίως, τῷ δὲ ὡς μηκέτι τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκπέμψοι παραπλησίως οἰκτρόν, ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς τε τὴν λύπην ἐκθεραπεύσοι τῷ δυσθυμοῦντι, καὶ εἰς φαιδρότητα τρέψοι τὴν ἐπικειμένην κατήφειαν ...*

(231) *Ibid.*, 77 (nr 138) : *μάλιστα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλὴν ἀπαιτῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ κληρονομηθὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥοπῆς μέρος εἰσπραττόμενος πάρεστιν. Εἰ δὲ σκληρύνῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ὡς δωρεὰν γοῦν αἰτεῖ.*

offer gifts usually expect to be rewarded (*Ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς νοσφιζομένοις δῶρα τυποῦν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ, ὅτι· "ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος μέλλω λαβεῖν δώρων τάδε"*). Often people offer gifts without revealing their real intentions. Once the archon accepts them, the donor then asks for a favour, such as, for example, to issue a false legal document (*παράνομον χαρτίον*) (232). In Cecaumenus' text the archon does not take pride in the assistance which he may offer to his friends. If he wants to intervene in favour of a friend, he should not act conspicuously, so that his friend should not infer that it was done in return for a gift (233). The difference with the Roman patrocinium is obvious.

In later centuries this form of benefices, gained through personal connections, is attested even in texts of legal character. In a document of the *protos* of the year 1294 a clause of warranty is introduced referring to various means of invalidating the content of the document : presents, friendship or influence of an important *prosopon* (234). In a patriarchal *sigilliodes gramma* of the year 1386 regarding a conflict between the monasteries of Lavra and Kutlumus, we read that the monks of Lavra were powerful and influential and that they had powerful friends everywhere, while those of Kutlumus were modest and unknown (*ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν ἰσχυροὶ καὶ μεγάλα δυνάμενοι πανταχοῦ καὶ φίλους πολλοὺς ἔχοντες δυνατούς, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσιν εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἀγνώριστοι καὶ οὐδαμοῦ παρρησίαν ἔχοντες οὐδὲ θαρροῦντες ἀλλαχοῦ*) (235). Protection offered to monasteries by powerful individuals is also attested in the letters of Psellus (236). In these texts the *prostasia* is described as protection offered by an influential individual, while the services which the protégé of a *prostates* was offering in return are concealed. Reciprocity, however, is essential in patronage and thus it differs from friendship. In one of his homilies John Mauropous complains that *οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν ... ἀγαπῶσι δῶρα, διώκουσιν ἀντα-*

(232) LITAVRIN, *op. cit.*, 128.
(233) *Ibid.*, 121.
(234) *Chilandar* 9 l. 38 : *ἢ διὰ δῶρα ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ πρόσωπον.*
(235) *Kutlumus* 38 ll. 21-22.
(236) Cf. SATHAS, *MB*, 297, 398 : *Προστῆναι μὲν οὖν με ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς μονῆς οὐ πάνυ τι ἐπαγγέλλομαι, δεδιὼς μὴ ἐλάττων φανείην τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης ὑμῖν προστασίας· ὄμνυμι δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας ἁγίας εὐχὰς ὡς οὐδέποτε προεθυμήθην ἄρξαι τινὸς ἢ κοσμικοῦ, ἢ μοναδικοῦ πληρώματος· βοηθεῖν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐν οἷς ἂν δυναίμην καιροῖς καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν ταῖς ὑμετέραις δεήσεσι καὶ βούλομαι καὶ προτεθύμημαι, εἰ μή μοι ἀντιπέσοι τὰ πράγματα καταρρέοντα ὁσημέραι καὶ μεταπίπτοντα ... Τοσοῦτον γοῦν ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπήγγελται, ἄψασθαι δὲ τῆς τελεωτέρας ὑμῶν προστασίας παντάπασιν εἰμὶ ἀθαρσής.*

πόδομα. In the same passage Mauropous speaks about the unjust actions of the archons, how they circumvented the laws. For John Mauropous the reciprocity which the archons demanded is deplorable, one more case of archons' injustice ([237]).

There are some indications, however, that this attitude towards the *prostasia* is changing in later centuries. Reciprocity is sanctioned by law : in the Novel of Michael VIII Palaeologus this reciprocity is clearly described in the establishment of the relation between a *dynatos* and an *adynatos* : "If someone goes on a *kephalattikion* or *stratopedarchia* at my Majesty's command, and one of the people administered by him should, of his own will and volition, perform a service for him so as to have his support, and help him in some matter (*ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ διά τινα ὑπόθεσιν καὶ βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ*), and offer him something to eat or drink as a present, the *kephale* or stratopedarch is to accept it from the giver and keep what is given to him" ([238]). This is a clear form of personal patronage. It is a relationship between two socially and economically unequal persons, and the *adynatos* offers some services to the *dynatos* in the expectation of some sort of assistance through the latter's political and social influence. According to our text such a relationship is perfectly acceptable. The contrast with the texts from earlier centuries is revealing. It may very well be that this is a result of the greater power which the aristocrats enjoyed during the last centuries of the Byzantine empire.

The other type of patronage is the rural patronage. The status of the *colonus-paroikos* in Byzantium with respect to the taxation system or the forms of land tenure does not concern us here. It has been examined in various studies and from various perspectives, often with conflicting conclusions ([239]). Our information, however, about the details of such agreements regarding reciprocal obligations and benefices between the peasants-*paroikoi* and the wealthy landowners, is very

(237) MAUROPOUS, *op. cit.*, 170.

(238) BURGMANN & MAGDALINO, *op. cit.*, 38 ll. 74-79, & p. 389.

(239) For bibliographical references for the earlier period cf. HALDON, *op. cit.*, 125 ff. ; for the middle Byzantine period cf. A. HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 1989), 45 ff. ; for the later centuries cf. A. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), 142 ff. Cf. also J. KARAYANNOPULOS, "Entwicklungsetappen der Agrargesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse in Byzanz", *XVIII Int. Congress of Byzantine Studies, Major Papers, 8-15 Aug. 1991* (Moscow, 1991), 102-151.

limited. On the other hand, documents of private transactions or of the imperial administration do not offer information comparable to that of the 4th c. Libanius, for example. The nature of our sources obviously imposes limitations on our study. The rural patronage is mainly attested in the legislative texts. In the *Basilica* are included the ancient laws which forbade acquisition of land on account of *prostasia* through transactions of donations, sales, or under the terms of a lease (240). Other ancient constitutions referring to the *prostasia* offered by *dynata prosopa* during trials are also included in the *Basilica* (241). The *prostasia* is also mentioned in the *Epanagoge* in a section on the archon's obligations. According to the ancient laws, archons were not allowed to promise their subjects *prostasia* (*μήτε προστασίαν ἐπαγγέλεσθαι*) (242). In the *Peira* it is found in the section on *synegoroi* which reproduces a law of the *Basilica* 8, 1, 15 (243). It is also attested in the Novels of the Macedonian emperors. In the 2nd Novel of Romanus, the emperor forbids the acquisition of land by the *dynatoi* covered up by agreements of adoption, donation, will or usufruct or *prostasia* (*ὡς ἐπί τινι προστασίᾳ καὶ συνδρομῇ*) (244). The *prostasia* of the powerful is also mentioned in the Novel 6 of Romanus as offering assistance to the poor (*μηδὲ προστασίαις δυνατωτέρων διφεντευόμενοι*) (245). In Harmenopoulos it is found in B, 9, 4 in the title *περὶ τῶν προσφευγόντων*. Those who are seeking the *prostasia* of the *dynatoi* during a trial (*δίκης ἕνεκεν*) should be expelled and those who accept anyone under the terms of an agreement of *prostasia* not included in the legislation should

(240) Basilica 56, 13, 1 (= *CJ* 11, 54, 1) : *Ἐάν τις ... εἰς προστασίαν τινός, προσχήματι δωρεᾶς ἢ πράσεως ἢ μισθώσεως, μὴ ἐρρώσθω τὸ γεγονός* ; 2 (= *CJ* 11, 54, 2) : *Μηδεὶς κωμήταις προστασίαν ὑπισχνείσθω μηδὲ δεχέσθω γεωργοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑπόσχεσιν προσόδων ἢ ἕτερον κέρδος λαμβάνων· εἰ δέ τις παραβαίη ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπιτιμίοις ὑποπεσεῖται καὶ ἑτέρᾳ μείζονι πειρασθήσεται κινήσει.*

(241) Basilica 7, 9 (= *CJ* 2, 13, 1 and 2) : *ὥστε μὴ ἐξεῖναι δυνατοῖς προσώποις προστασίαν τοῖς δικαζομένοις παρασχεῖν, ἢ τὰς ἀγωγὰς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεταφέρειν* ; 10 (= *CJ* 2, 14, 1) : *Περὶ τούτων τῶν δυναστῶν, οἵτινες ὀνόμασι τοὺς τίτλους τοῖς ἀγροῖς προσηγνύουσιν ἢ τὰ αὐτῶν ὀνόματα εἰς τὴν δίκην προτείνουσι* ; 11, 1 (= *CJ* 2, 15, 2 ; 16, 1-2 ; 17, 1-4) : *ὥστε μηδεὶς ἰδικοὺς τίτλους τοῖς ἀγροῖς αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιθήσοι ἢ προσηγορίαν βασιλικὴν ἀναρτήσοι καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὸν δημόσιον χάριν τινὸς προστασίας ἐν δίκῃ πράγματα ἀπό τινος λαμβάνειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δικαστοῦ αὐθεντίας ἐπισφραγίσαι πράγματα ἄλλος κατέχει.*

(242) Epanagoge 7, 2 (ZEPOS, 2, 248).

(243) Peira 10, 1 (ZEPOS 4, 40) : *φησὶ γὰρ τὸν δεχόμενον εἰς προστασίαν τινά, κἂν συγκλητικός ἐστι, πλέον τοῦ διατεταγμένου τιμωρεῖσθαι.*

(244) ZEPOS 1, 203.

(245) *Ibid.*, 216.

be punished : *τὸν δὲ δεχόμενον εἰς προστασίαν τινά κἂν συγκλητικός ἐστιν, ἔξω τῶν διατεταγμένων τιμωρείσθω*. The phrasing of Harmenopoulos' text is interesting. Since only the forms of *prostasiai* which were *ἔξω τῶν διατεταγμένων* were forbidden, there were other arrangements leading to some sort of *prostasia*, which were recognized as legal and valid.

Patron-client relations are found in all societies (246) and, as we have seen, the personal patronage certainly existed in Byzantium. This form of patronage was a mutual obligation deriving from a certain code of social relations and binding both parties only in moral terms. The pride which the ancient *prostatai* took in their munificence and the gratitude expressed often in public by their protégés, features of the ancient patronage, are not found in Byzantium. The rural patronage, mainly attested by the legislation, was a different form. Such relationship had the force of a legal agreement. As in the legislation of the early Byzantine period, it was considered an evil because it led to the detriment of the *dynatos*' protégé. It was considered a covert form of oppression (247).

Although a study of Byzantine patronage after the 6th c. is still lacking, Byzantinists have touched upon this problem in studies on feudalism and agrarian history of Byzantium. Zakythinos, in a study on Byzantine feudalism, remarks that it is very difficult to find any connection between Byzantine institutions and those of the Roman society which evolved into the feudal regime. The Byzantine institutions which resemble the Western feudal ones were the result of an internal evolution and they appeared in later centuries. The only exception he knows is that of *prostasia* mentioned in the Novels of the Macedonian emperors. But he concludes that these were "traits embryonnaires" and whether they were the continuation of the Roman tradition or new forms as a result of an internal evolution of Byzantine society, they do not provide sufficient evidence for a Byzantine feudal system (248). Lemerle suggested that the peasants who abandoned their fields, because they could not pay the taxes, and went to the land of big landowners,

(246) See E. GELLNER and J. WATERBURY (ed.), *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies* (London, 1977).

(247) See the thoughts of M. GILSEMAN, "Against patron-client relations", and SILVERMAN, "Patronage as myth", *ibid.*

(248) D. ZAKYTHINOS, "Processus de féodalisation", *L'Hellénisme Contemporaine*, Nov.-Dec. 1948, 499-514 (*Var. Repr.*, London, 1973, nr XIII) 2-3.

might have entered into agreements of *prostasia* (249). He also refers to the *prostasia* mentioned in the Novel of Romanus as "an echo of patronage" without discussing the institution any further (250).

Colonate and patronage of the early period have been recognized as complementary (251). Although some forms of rural patronage always existed in the Roman state, it became strongly institutionalized in Late Antiquity, and in the West it evolved into the feudal system. With reference to Byzantium, we have difficulties grasping the real nature of the rural patronage for two reasons :

1) because the imperial legislation which mentions it reproduces the vocabulary and institutions of the earlier legislation, and although it is explicit, it is not descriptive enough ;

2) because the terms of patronage were not stipulated in documents of such agreements (252), and writers of other texts were not interested in recording them.

It is possible, however, that since they were covered up by various forms of legal agreements, they are concealed. Only accidental references to the rural patronage testify that the institution and the old terminology survived until the end of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, for example, in a testimony of witnesses regarding the limits of the property of the monastery of Lembos, there is reference to the land of a *prostates* (*τὰ ἐν τῷ περιόρῳ δηλούμενα χωμάσσια τοῦ προστάτου καὶ τοῦ Βλατέρου*) (253). Future research may look at the Byzantine patronage from a different angle : to discern the institutions which had replaced ancient forms of patronage, especially those introduced by the Church, or identify the cultural changes which might have altered people's attitudes toward the patronage. The fact, for example, that in the Byzantine texts the *prostasia* is not presented as an action to be proud of, as

(249) LEMERLE, Histoire agraire, 62.

(250) *Ibid.*, 270 ; IDEM, *Agrarian History*, 94.

(251) Cf. M. PALLASSE, *Orient et Occident : À propos du colonat romain au Bas-Empire* (Lyon, 1950) ; R. RÉMONDON, *La crise de l'empire romain de Marc Aurèle à Anastase* (Paris, 1970, 2nd ed.), 180 and the remarks of LEMERLE, Histoire agraire, 40 ; IDEM, *Agrarian History*, 12-13.

(252) Cf. also the remarks of I. MEDVEDEV, "Diplomatika častnogo vizantijskogo akta", in : *Problemy ističonikovedenija zapadonoevropejskogo srednevekov'ja* (Leningrad, 1979), 124-147.

(253) *MM* 4, 280 ll. 16-17.

in Antiquity, could be interpreted as a consequence of the shift of emphasis from public to private life (254).

V

The study of the sources referring to the *archontike dynasteia* and *archontike prostasia* leads us to some conclusions. We have shown that both terms refer to various forms of oppression of the *adynatoi* by the *dynatoi*, and that the problem was as old as the empire. We have been able to discern a certain evolution in the way in which the emperors dealt with the problem through the centuries. We have noticed that there has been a gradual change of vocabulary in the imperial legislation : in the middle Byzantine period, the problem was addressed directly with unreserved and strong expressions. We have also concluded that all this was not just rhetorical propaganda from the part of the state, but an expression of real concern. It has also been shown that the judicial and notarial system dealt with the restrictions imposed by law on the *dynatoi* in two ways : either by inventing ways to circumvent the law, or by carefully applying the law to specific cases of unjust and illegal transactions.

It remains to examine closely the direct evidence of the notarial documents.

In the documents of private transactions the terms used to designate the pressure on the party which proceeded to the transaction are the following : *δυναστεία, καταδυναστεία, ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία, ἀρχοντικὴ καταδυναστεία, αὐθεντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία, πρακτορικὴ καταδυναστεία, ἀρχοντικὴ ἐξουσία, ἐπήρεια ἀρχοντική, τυραννίς* (255). In some documents we find more than one of the above terms juxtaposed : *αὐθεντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία* (B, nr 3), *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐξουσία καὶ δυναστεία* (B, nr 14, 15), *ἀρχοντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ καταδυναστεία* (B, nr 16), *ἀρχοντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ δυναστεία* (B, nr 17). We observe that in the notarial documents, as in other sources the terms *δυναστεία* and *καταδυναστεία* are often related to the archons' oppression (*ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία* or *καταδυναστεία*). In a document of donation from the 13th c. there is reference to an earlier forced transaction in favour

(254) A. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History", *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 429-478, esp. 463-4.

(255) Cf. MEDVEDEV, *Diplomatiki*, *op. cit.*, p. 58 n. 90.

of the *ἐξάδελφος* of the emperor, *protosebastos, protovestiarios* and *megas domestikos* in which both terms *βία* and *δυναστεία* are used : *βιασθεὶς κἀγὼ διὰ τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνθρώπου* (256). In a Homily of Eustathius of Thessalonica *βία* refers to someone who has an authority and it is identified with *τυραννίς*, while it is specified that according to the laws the *αὐθεντία* refers to illegal appropriation of properties (257). But in many other texts the terms *δυναστεία* and *καταδυναστεία* pertain to abuses of private individuals (258). Even the term *τυραννίς* designates illegal initiative in conflicts between private individuals (259). The *δυναστεία* and *καταδυναστεία* pertain also to abuses regarding property rights in conflicts between *dynatoi* (better documented are conflicts between monastic institutions) (260). In some texts these terms designate the usurpation which resulted from an

(256) *MM* 4, p. 102.

(257) *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. Th. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832), p. 40 : ... *βίαιόν τι ὄνομα τὸν αὐθέντην εἰδότας, καὶ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τυραννικόν, εἰς ἴσον τῷ αὐτοφόντῃ ἐρχόμενον καὶ τῷ αὐτόχειρι. Ἐὰν δέ μοι παραφέρῃς εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς τοιαύτης λέξεως τὸ αὐθεντῶς ἐπιδράττεσθαί τινος πράγματος, ὃ δὴ νόμοις ἀρέσκει λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ ἀνύποπτον ψόγου τίθεμαι. Τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον αὐθεντῶς ἔχοι ἂν καὶ πληγάς ποτε καὶ αἰκίας καὶ λοιπὰς πλημμελείας* ...

(258) Cf. for example, *MM* 1, 63 ll. 20-21, 65 l. 27 (1316), 101 l. 9 (1324), 104 ll. 2, 21 (1324) ; 2, 239 l. 22 (1395), 457 l. 15 (1401) ; 4, 279 ll. 10, 15, 281 l. 4 (1386) ; 5, 131 ll. 2-6 (1349) ; 6, 234 l. 31 ; CHOMATIANUS, col. 398 ; *Kutlumus* 33 l. 8 (1375) ; TRINCHERA 56 (p. 73 ; 1093).

(259) PSELLUS, *Scripta Minora* II, 296-7 (*ep.* 246) : *Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πένης ἐστὶν ὁ τυραννῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τυραννικοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν οὐκ αἰτιαθήσεται, ὡς δέ γε αὐθάδης καὶ βίαιος, ἢ μᾶλλον πάντῃ ταχὺς καὶ ἀνόητος τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐπιτιμίοις σωφρονισθήσεται. Dynasteia* also is used to designate the imperial authority : IDEM, *Χρονογραφία*, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 152 (l. 5), 183 (l. 20).

(260) *MM* 2, 240 l. 14 (1395) ; *Zographou* 20 ll. 11, 22 (*c.* 1321), 38 ll. 6, 14 (1348) ; *Chilandar* 19 l. 29 (1304), 158 ll. 65, 78, 186 (1388), 78 l. 17 (1322), 88 l. 16 (1323), 91 ll. 16, 29 (1323), 134 ll. 7, 63 (1345), 153 l. 22 (1370) ; *Esphigmenou* 11 l. 8 (1315) ; *Docheiariou* 54 l. 31 (1414). Cf. also the *prooimion* of a document of the *protos* of Athos (1333) regarding illegal acquisitions of monastic land by other monasteries : *Kastamonitou* 4 ll. 1-6. Some documents illustrate the tensions between monasteries by describing violent acts occurring during such conflicts : *Zographou* 4 ll. 10-12 (*καὶ σπαθία καὶ τόξα ἔσυραν καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ καθεκάστην οὐ παύονται τὰς τοιαύτας ὀχλήσεις ποιοῦντες καθήρπαξαν γὰρ τὸν ἡμέτερον τόπον καὶ ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ἡμῶν φοβερίζουσιν καὶ ἡμᾶς.* — (1051) ; *Kutlumus* 4 ll. 14-19 (1433) ; in *Zographou* 6 ll. 25-39 (1267) a monk of Lavra produced a false imperial *horismos* on the basis of which Lavra could claim some fields. In *Iviron* II, 34 l. 6 (1062) the bishop of Ezoba appears spending his time in tribunals hoping to appropriate a *metochion* of Iviron. Cf. also a passage in CECAUMENUS, *supra* n. 208, 209.

enemy action (261). It is obvious therefore that we cannot be certain about the exact meaning of the terms *δυναστεία* and *καταδυναστεία* in the documents of transactions, when they appear alone. Is their meaning generic, equivalent to the clause of *βία* (262), or is the *dynatos*' oppression implied ? In the legislative sources the *δυναστεία* is often used as equivalent to *βία* (263). The evidence of our sources does not allow us to give any definitive answer. It is for this reason that we have included the clauses of *δυναστεία* and *καταδυναστεία* in the present study, but we have listed them as a separate group (A).

A.

1. 1016, 25th, *post* Febr. and *ante* Sept. Skyros. Donation of the nun Glykeria, widow of the *koubouklesios* John, to the convent of Lavra : *Lavra* I, 20.
Notary : the *ekklesiarchos* of Lavra.
δίχα πάσης ἀνάγκης ἢ τυραννίδος (l. 7).

2. 1094, March 5th. Perama (Constantinople). *Apotaxis* of Theodosius Kastrisius toward the convent of Saint John Theologos in Patmos : *MM* 6, pp. 90-94.
Notary : Eulampius Hagioeirenites, judge and *taboullarios* ; scribe : John, *notarios* (secretary) of the *taboullarios*.
ἵνα μὴ ἔχω ἄδειαν ἢ ἐξουσίαν ... ἢ πρὸς ἀθέτησιν τοῦ παρόντος ἐγγράφου γίνεσθαι ὅλως οἱαδήτινι προφάσει ἢ ἀφορμῇ ἢ περιγραφὴν εἰς μέσον προφέρειν ἢ βίαν ἢ ἁπάτην ἢ δυναστείαν ...

3. 1112, Febr. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Eudocia, daughter of the *patrikios* Gregory Bourion and wife of the *protospatharios* Stephanus

(261) Cf. for example, *Zographou* 12 l. 17 (1290) ; *Chilandar* 157 l. 91 (1378) ; *Kutlumus* 33 ll. 13, 57 (1375).

(262) On the clause of *βία* and *φόβος* in the Byzantine documents cf. FERRARI, *documenti*, *op. cit.*, 29, 48-9, 91-2.

(263) Basilica 10, 2, 35 (= *CJ* 2, 19) : *τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, αἵτινες κατὰ δυναστείαν ἐξεβιάσθησαν, προστάττομεν ἀσθενεῖν.* Procheiron auctum 15, 24 : *Τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις, αἵτινες κατὰ βίαν ἐξεβιβάσθησαν, προστάττομεν ἀσθενεῖν.* Synopsis minor B, *νστ : Ἐάν τις μετὰ βίας ἤγουν δυναστείας λάβῃ νομήν τινος πράγματος ...* ; B, *νθ : Βίαν ποιεῖ ὁ μετὰ τὸ κωλυθῆναι ποιῆσαί τι χρησάμενος δυναστείᾳ καὶ ποιήσας αὐτό ...* HARMENOPOULOS B, *α*, 14 : *Ὅταν τὸ ἀλλότριον πρᾶγμα κακῇ πίστει νέμεταί τις, ἢ ὡς ἀφελόμενος βίᾳ ἢ δυναστείᾳ χρησάμενος ...* JOHN MAUROPOUS, *op. cit.*, 162 : *οὐ δυναστείαις ἐβιασάμεθα* ; G. A. RHALLES and M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vol. (Athens, 1852-1859), 3, 434 : *τὴν δυναστείαν δὲ ὠνόμασαν τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ βίαιον.*

Rasopoles, to the convent of Docheiariou : *Docheiariou* 3.
Notaries : Cyriacus Strabomytes, cleric of the church of Theotokos, *nomikos* : Nicolas Contopaulus, cleric, *nomikos*.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ δυναστείας (l. 5).

4. 1154, Nov. 6th. Mount Athos. *Antallage* between the monasteries of Philotheou and Lavra : *Lavra* I, 63.
Notary : the monk Hilarion.
a) *οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ δυναστείας* ... (ll. 15-16).
b) *μή τινος ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τῶν μονῶν ἡμῶν ἔχειν ὀφείλοντος ἄδειαν ἀνατρέψαι ὡς ὀπωσοῦν τὴν προβᾶσαν ταύτην ἀνταλλαγὴν ἐξ οἱασδήτινος συνηγορικῆς προφάσεως ... ἢ ὑπόσχεσιν οἱανδήτινα προτιθέναι, ἢ πλάνην ἢ συναρπαγὴν ἢ βίαν ἢ δυναστείαν ἢ ὁποιανοῦν δικαιολογίαν* (ll. 42-46).

5. 1193, Febr. Crete. Deed of sale of Leo Staurakiotes and Constas Pselus from the village Sillamos to the *notarios* Leo Orestes : *MM* 6, pp. 124-7.
Notary : Michael Limenites, cleric, *taboullarios* of Crete.
a) *οὐδεμιᾷ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ καταδυναστείᾳ* ... (p. 126 l. 1).
b) *καὶ ἢ φόβον ἢ δόλον ἢ βίαν ἢ καταδυναστείαν ἢ ἀρχοντικὴν ἐπικουρίαν ... εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἐγγράφου ἡμῶν προβαλούμεθα ...* (p. 126 ll. 20-25).

6. 1197, June. Crete. Donation of Constantine Paphnoutius Exotrochus in favour of the monastery of Saint John Theologos in Patmos : *MM* 6, pp. 133-6.
Notary : Andronicus Papandronikopoulos, *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi* of Crete.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ δυναστείας ... (p. 133 ll. 12-13).

7. 1245. Trebizond. Deed of sale of the brothers Pyroi to the priest Nicephorus : *Vazelon* 49.
Notary : unknown.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ βίας, ἢ χλεύης, ἢ δυναστείας, ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας (ll. 7-8).

8. 1263, Jan. Smyrna. Deed of sale of John Meles and his family to the monastery of Theotokos Lembou : *MM* 4, pp. 124-5.
Notary : Basil Tzykapites, cleric and *nomikos* of the *patriarchike enoria*.
ἐὰν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν χωρηθῶμεν τῆς παρούσης ἡμῶν πράσεως ... ἢ δόλον ἢ βίαν ἢ καταδυναστείαν ἢ ἄλλην τινά αἰτίαν προσείπωμεν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἡμῶν πράσεως ... (p. 125 ll. 3-10).

9. 1274, July. Smyrna. Donation of the *doulos* of the emperor, Constantine Doukas Synadenus, the nun Martha Thrakesina and her

daughter Ann Angelina in favour of the monastery of Theotokos of Lembos : *MM* 4, pp. 106-9.
Notary : Alexius Maroulles, cleric, *taboullarios*.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ δυναστείας ... (p. 106 l. 29).

10. *circa* 1290 (?) and *ante* Febr. 1300. Hierissos. Deed of sale of George Koutroules and his family to Lavra : *Lavra* II, 83.
Notary : unknown.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμεθα ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (l. 10).

11. *circa* 1290 (?) and *ante* Febr. 1300. Hierissos. Deed of sale of John Karpocheris and his family to Lavra : *Lavra* II, 84.
Notary : unknown.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμεθα ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 14-15).

12. *circa* 1290 (?) and *ante* Febr. 1300. Hierissos. Deed of sale of Demetrius Pesianus and his family to Lavra : *Lavra* II, 85.
Notary : unknown.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμεθα ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (l. 12).

13. *circa* 1290 (?) and *ante* Febr. 1300. Hierissos. Deed of sale of John Kolokethas and his family to Lavra : *Lavra* II, 86.
Notary : unknown.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (l. 11).

14. [*circa* 1290 (?) and *ante* Febr. 1300], May. Hierissos. Deed of sale of John Lykomates and his wife to Lavra : *Lavra* II, 87.
Notary : Demetrius, cleric.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμεθα ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 15-16).

15. 1295, May. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Constantine Spartenus to the monastery of Xeropotamou : *Xeropotamou*, 12.
Notary : Basil Beascus, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενος ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 30-31).

16. 1296, Dec. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the mason Manuel Biblodontes to Theodore Karabas : *Chilandar*, 12.
Notary : John Perdicarius, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : John Strymbakon.
Εἰ δέ γε ἀπὸ ἄρτι εἴτε ὡς ἐκ μεταμέλου, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἀπό τινος νομικῆς ἰσχύος καὶ βοηθείας πειραθῶ ἀνατρέψαι ἢ ἀθετῆσαι τὸ παρὸν πρατήριον

ἔγγραφον, βίαν ἴσως προβαλλόμενος ἢ δυναστείαν ... (ll. 41-43) ... *αἷς δὴ πάσαις ἑκουσιοθελῶς ἀποτάσσομαι* ... (l. 46).

17. 1304, Aug. 17th. Thessalonica. Donation of Maria, widow of Doukas Michael Angelus and daughter of the *pansebastos, sebastos, oikeios* of the emperor Demetrius Spartenus, in favour of Lavra : *Lavra* II, 98.

Notary : John Perdicarius, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric.

ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσομένη ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 30-31).

18. 1307, April. Bishopric of Eziba and Stephaniana. Deed of sale of Lebounes and his family to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 24.

Notary : unknown.

ὅθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔχοντες ἄδειαν ἡμεῖς ἤ τις τοῦ μέρους ἡμῶν ἐπάγειν πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς ... μονῆς, τὴν τυχοῦσαν διενόχλησιν ἢ πρόφασιν δυναστείας ... (ll. 14-17).

19. 1309, Jan. 21st. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of John Andronas and his family to the convent of Jerusalem : *Chilandar*, 25.

Notary : Basil Beascus, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : Theodore Pegades.

ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς, κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 40-41).

20. 1309, Aug. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Michael Kapitonaites and his wife to Xenos Crenites : *Xenophon*, 8.

Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : Theodore Diabasemeres.

ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς, κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (l. 38).

21. 1310, Febr. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Theodora Gorgaina to the cleric John Papadopoulos : *Xenophon*, 9.

Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : John Pyrros, cleric.

Ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσομένη ἑκουσιοθελῶς τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 36-37).

22. 1313, Febr. Ainos. Donation of the monk Cosmas Pancalus in favour of the monastery of Pantocrator in Constantinople : *Kutlumus*, 8.

Notary : Unknown.

οὐκ ἔκ τινος βίας ἢ ἀνάγκης ἢ δυναστείας ... (ll. 7-8).

23. 1314, Aug. 5th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Demetrius Pyrrus and his family to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 28.

Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 57-58).

24. 1314, Aug. 5th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Theodore Mallocopus and his son to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 29.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 48-50).

25. 1315, Sept. Thessalonica. Deed of sale and donation of the cleric Nicephorus Cladon in favour of the convent of Xenophon : *Xenophon*, 10.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
Ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 29-30).

26. 1322, Nov. 9th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the *doulos* of the emperor Alexandros Doukas Sarantenus and his wife to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 84.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς, κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 81-83).

27. 1326, Jan. 19th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the nun Anysia Platyskalitissa to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 106.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσομένη ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 56-57).

28. 1326, March. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of George Boutzinas to the monastery of Iviron : *Schatzkammern*, 112.
Notary : Michael Sarantenus, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : John Anastasopoulos, cleric.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (l. 40).

29. 1327, Jan. 22nd. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the nun Eulogia, daughter of the late Petzikopoulos, the *stratopedarches*, her mother, the nun Martha, named Melane, and her brothers, Demetrius Doucas Petzikopoulos, *doulos* of the emperor, John Senahereim and Constantine, to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 112.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : John Pyrrus, cleric.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 107-9).

30. 1327, March 11th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the brothers Demetrius, *doulos* of the emperor, Manuel, and Michael Kallamanus to Zographou : *Zographou*, 25.
Notary : Nicolas Synadenus, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 104-5).

31. 1330, Febr. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the sisters Sarantene, the nuns Xene Indanina and Sophrosyne, to Zographou : *Zographou*, 28.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμεθα ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 88-9).

32. 1335, Febr. 25th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Xenia, widow of the protopapas Demetrius, and her family to Chilandar : *Chilandar*, 125.
Notary : Demetrius Diabasemeres, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς κοινῶς μὲν σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 60-61).

33. 1336, June 31st (*sic*). Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Irene Pavles and her family to the hieromonachos Ignatius Syrriares : *Xenophon*, 24.
Notary : Nicolas Synadenos, cleric and *taboullarios* ; scribe : John Anastasopoulos, cleric.
Ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενοι ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 26-27).

34. 1341, July 4th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of the nun Agape Angelina Sphrantzaina Palaiologina to her brother Theodore Doucas Spartenus, *oikeios* of the emperor, and her brother-in-law Manuel Phaxenus : *Lavra* III, app. XII.
Notary : John Anastasopoulos, cleric, *taboullarios*.
ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσομένη ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ ... (ll. 29-30).

35. 1379, March 5th. Thessalonica. *Antallage* of Simon Carymauces and his wife with the convent of Vatopedi : Alexandros Vatopaidinos, *Ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ σεβασμίας Μεγίστης Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου*, *Gregorios ho Palamas* 6(1922), pp. 282-3.
Notary : Exallaxios, *protokanonarchos*.
Οἷον δὲ μέρος πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν καὶ ἀθέτησιν τοῦ παρόντος ἐγγράφου καὶ τοῦ ἀμοιβαίου αὐτοῦ χωρῆσαι βουληθείη ἐκ μεταμελείας ἢ ὑστεροβουλίας βίαν ἴσως προβαλλόμενον ἢ δυναστείαν ... (p. 283 ll. 8-10).

B

The clause of the *ἀρχοντική* and *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δυναστεία* appears in the following documents.

1. 1117, Dec. 14. *Antallage* between the *proedros* Nicephore Bourtzes, and the monastery of Docheiariou : *Docheiariou* 4.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ δόλου ἢ συναρπαγῆς καὶ ἁπάτης ἢ φόβου ἢ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἀπειρίας ... (ll. 5-6).
Notaries : Demetrius Artacenus, cleric, *nomikos* ; Constantine Blizimas, *taboullarios*.

2. 1242, March. Smyrna. Donation of the monk Maximus Planetes, his brother Basil and their mother to the monastery of Theotokos Lembou : *MM* 4, pp. 66-69.
Notary : George Alethinus, cleric, *taboullarios* of the metropolis of Smyrna.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ... ἢ δυναστείας ἀρχοντικῆς (p. 66 ll. 26-29).

3. 1246. Dyrrachium. Deed of sale of John, son-in-law of the late doctor Scenas, to Symeon Branas : Medvedev, *op. cit.*, 233-5 (= Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 14(1905), pp. 569-571).
Notary : Nicolas Peregrinus, anagnostes, *taboullarios*.
οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τινός, ἢ βίας, ἢ ῥαδιουργίας, ἢ χλεύης, ἢ δόλου, ἢ φόβου, ἢ φάκτου καὶ νόμου ἀγνοίας, ἢ αὐθεντικῆς καὶ πρακτορικῆς ἐξουσίας ... (Medvedev, p. 233 ll. 11-12 ; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 570 ll. 6-8).

4. 1264, May. Trebizond. Deed of sale of Basil Boukenator to the convent of Vazelon : *Vazelon* 39.
Notary : Nicetas Paphlagon.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ βίας, ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας, ἢ πρακτορικῆς ἐξουσίας (ll. 31-32).

5. 1271, Sept. Demetrias. *Katathetikon eggraphon* of the inhibitants of the village of Dryanoubaine in favour of Nicolas Angelus Comnenus Maliasenus, *gambros* of the emperor, and his wife Ann Doucaina Comnene Palaiologina Maliasene, niece of the Emperor : *MM* 4, pp. 391-3.
Notary : Michael Panaretus, bishop of Demetrias and Halmyros.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ φόβου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας (p. 391 ll. 22-23).

6. 1271, Sept. Demetrias. Deed of sale of Zoe, daughter of the late Stephanus Syropoulos, widow of John Melachrenus, to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 393-6.

Notary : Michael Panaretus, bishop of Demetrias and Halmyros.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ... ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 393 l. 32 — p. 394 l. 2).

7. 1271, Sept. Demetrias. Deed of sale of Michael Archontitzes and his family to the Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 396-9.
Notary : the *chartophylax* of the bishopric of Demetrias.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ... ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 396 ll. 32-33).

8. 1271, Nov. Halmyros. Deed of sale of Michael Martinos and his family to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 399-402.
Notary : Constantine Rangabes, *anagnostes, taboullarios.*
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ βίας ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 400 ll. 8-9).

9. 1271, Nov. Halmyros. Deed of sale of Nicolas Bardas to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 402-4.
Notary : Constantine Rangabes, *anagnostes, taboullarios.*
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 402 ll. 22-23).

10. 1271, Dec. Halmyros. Deed of sale of the monks of the monastery of Saint George of Kanalia to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 404-7.
Notary : Constantine Rangabes, *anagnostes, taboullarios.*
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ ἀπάτης ... ἢ ἐπηρείας ἀρχοντικῆς (p. 405 ll. 8-10).

11. 1272, May. Demetrias. Deed of sale of Constantine Katzidiotes and his wife to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 407-9.
Notary : Michael Panaretus, bishop of Demetrias and Halmyros.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ... ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 407 ll. 27-28).
ἀποβαλλόμενοι καὶ ἀποταττόμενοι ἐκ συμφώνου ἡμῶν ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐπερωτήσεως μὴ μόνον πᾶσαν καὶ παντοίαν ἰδιωτείαν καὶ ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀρχοντικὴν καταδυναστείαν (p. 407 l. 32 — 408 l. 1).

12. {1272. Halmyros}. Deed of sale of John Katzidones and his wife to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 410-1.
Notary : unknown.
μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας (p. 410 ll. 10-11).

13. {1272. Halmyros}. Deed of sale of a family to the couple Maliasenoi : *MM* 4, pp. 412-4.
Notary : unknown.

οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ βίας ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (p. 411 ll. 11-12).

14. 1287, Nov. Serres. Deed of sale of Manuel Comnenus Peliargus and his family to the monastery of Christ called tou Latomou : *Kutlumus* 4.
Notary : Theodore, cleric, *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi.*
οὐκ ἔκ τινος φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ ἐνοχλείας ἢ ἀπάτης ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ δυναστείας (l. 4).

15. 1305, Dec. Serres. Deed of sale of Peter Kapassas and his daughter to the *pansebastos, sebastos, oikeios* of the emperor Cosmas Pangalus : *Kutlumus* 7.
Notaries : John Phalacrus, *anagnostes, taboullarios* ; Theodore Kalygopoulos, *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi.*
{οὐκ ἔκ τινος} ... *φόβου ἢ δόλου ἢ ἐνοχλείας ἢ ἀπάτης ἢ ῥαδιουργίας τινός ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ δυναστείας* (ll. 5-6).

16. 1321, Aug. Caesaropolis. Deed of sale of the nun Marina, widow of Michael Modeinus, and her family to Chilandar : *Chilandar* 69.
Notary : George Calomenus, cleric of Zichna.
Ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἢ δόλου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καὶ πρακτορικῆς καταδυναστείας ... (ll. 23-24).

17. 1329, April. Zichna. Deed of sale of John Mavrianos and his family to Chilandar : *Chilandar* 118.
Notary : John *anagnostes, protonotarios* of the metropolis of Zichna.
ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ βίας, ἢ δόλου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καὶ πρακτορικῆς δυναστείας ... (ll. 19-20).

C

The following list includes the references to the *archontike* and *ekklesiastike prostasia* in the documents of transactions.

1. 897, March 14th. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Georgia, widow of Demetrius Tzagastes, and of her children to the convent of Saint Andrew of Peristerai : *Lavra* I, 1.
Notary : Nicolas, cleric, *libellesios* and *symbolaiographos.*
ἀποταξάμενοι πάσῃ τῇ ἐκ νόμων βοηθείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρχοντικῇ καὶ ἱερατικῇ ἐπικουρίᾳ (l. 8).

2. 1193, Febr. Crete. Deed of sale of Leo Stauraciotes and Constas Pselus from the village Sillamos to the *notarios* Leo Orestes : *MM* 6, pp. 124-7.

Notary : Michael Limenites, cleric, *taboullarios* of Crete.
καὶ ἢ φόβον ἢ δόλον ἢ καταδυναστείαν ἢ ἀρχοντικὴν ἐπικουρίαν ... εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἐγγράφου ἡμῶν προβαλούμεθα ... (p. 126 ll. 20-25).

3. 1245. Trebizond. Deed of sale of the brothers Pyroi to the priest Nicephorus : *Vazelon* 49.
Notary : unknown.
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ βίας, ἢ χλεύης, ἢ δυναστείας, ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας (ll. 7-8).

4. 1262, May. Trebizond. Donation of Constantine Mourmou in favour of the monastery of Saint John Prodromos Vazelon : *Vazelon* 14. *Idiocheiron.*
οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ χλεύης ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας (l. 5).

5. 1264, May. Trebizond. Deed of sale of Basil Boukenator to the monastery of Vazelon : *Vazelon* 39.
Notary : Nicetas Paphlagon.
καὶ οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ βίας, ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας, ἢ πρακτορικῆς ἐξουσίας (ll. 31-32).

The classification of the above clauses suggests that the term *δυναστεία* was more frequent than the *ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία* in the documents of transactions. It is found in 28 documents (A, nr 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9-35). The term *τυραννὶς* appears only once (A, nr 1), the term *καταδυναστεία* only in two documents (A, nr 5, 8). These documents date from the 11th to the 14th c. and were written by notaries from various areas of the empire. Therefore the legal clause of *δυναστεία* with its variations, without explicit reference to the archon's interference, was not limited to any particular area. From the documents listed above no particular pattern of use of this clause can be established.

From the list B we conclude that the clause of the *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δυναστεία* appears in only one document (B, nr 1), *ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία* appears in four documents (2, 14, 15, 17), the *ἀρχοντικὴ καταδυναστεία* in nine documents (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16), the *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐξουσία* in two (14, 15), the *αὐθεντικὴ ἐξουσία* in one (nr 3), the *πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία* in two (3, 4), while the *πρακτορικὴ καταδυναστεία*, the *πρακτορικὴ δυναστεία* and the *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐπήρεια* in only one document each (16, 17, 10). The surprising conclusion from the list B is that all the documents containing the clause of the *δυναστεία* with an explicit reference to the archon's forceful intervention are dated from the 13th c. Only the clause of *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δυναστεία* dates from the 12th c. (*a.* 1117). Various areas of the empire are represented in these docu-

ments. The only pattern that emerges from this list is a chronological one. Finally only in five documents (list C) is the clause of the *ἀρχοντική* and *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐπικουρία* found. They date from the end of the 9th c. (*a.* 897), the 12th and the 13th c. and they represent three dispersed areas of the empire, Thessalonica, Crete and Trebizond. We should rule out the influence of local formularies.

The clause of the *δυναστεία* is also found in some formularies from the last centuries of the empire. These are the following :

1. Sale : SIMON, *Kaufformular*, 157-9 : *οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἢ φόβου ἢ βίας ἢ ἀπάτης ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας* (158 ll. 10-11).
2. Donation : SATHAS, *MB*, nr 2, p. 609-611 : *ἢ συναρπαγήν, ἢ ἀπάτην, ἢ βίαν, ἢ φόβον, ἢ καταδυναστείαν, ἢ νόμου καὶ φάκτου ἄγνοιαν προβαλλώμεθα* ... (p. 611 ll. 3-5).
3. Donation : SATHAS, *MB*, nr 5, p. 614 : *οὐκ ἔκ τινος συναρπαγῆς, ἢ ἀπάτης, ἢ φόβου, ἢ βίας, ἢ καταδυναστείας* ... (p. 614 ll. 6-7).
4. *Apodeixis* : SATHAS, *MB*, nr 27, p. 638-9 : *οὐ κατὰ βίαν ἢ ἀνάγκην, ἢ ἀπάτην ... ἢ ἀρχοντικὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἢ δυναστείαν* ... (p. 639 ll. 2-5).
5. Sale : FERRARI, *Formulari*, nr 6, 343 : *ἐξ οὐδεμίας ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας, ἢ φόβου, ἢ φάκτου ἀγνοίας, ἢ χλευασμοῦ, ἢ παραγραφῆς νομικῆς, ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς δυναστείας, ἢ πρακτορικῆς ἐκφοβήσεως* (p. 343 ll. 10-12).
6. Donation : SIMON-TROIANOS, *Geschäftsformulare*, nr I, p. 267-8 : *οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης, ἢ φόβου, ἢ βίας, ἢ ἀπάτης ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς ἐπικουρίας* ... (p. 267 ll. 6-7).
7. Donation : SIMON-TROIANOS, *Geschäftsformulare*, nr II, p. 270-1 : *μὴ εἰς νομικὴν ἢ ἀρχοντικὴν καταφεύγοντες βοήθειαν* (p. 271 l. 15).

Thus the clauses of *δυναστεία* and *προστασία* appear in the formularies in variant forms : *καταδυναστεία* (nr 2, 3), *ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία* (nr 4, 5), *πρακτορικὴ ἐκφόβησις* (nr 5), *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐπικουρία* (nr 1, 4, 6), *ἀρχοντικὴ βοήθεια* (nr 7).

In studying the evidence of the above lists two questions arise regarding the use of the clause of *dynasteia*. Was it dictated by local formularies and personal preferences of style of different notaries (264), or by specific conditions of the transactions ? In other words, did real *dynasteia* of the one party over the other motivate the introduction of these clauses in some documents ?

(264) Cf. the remarks of A. KAZHDAN, "Do we need a new History of Byzantine Law ?", *JÖB* 39 (1989), 23-25.

With reference to the first question, it appears that we may discern influence of a local formulary or a personal style in documents written by some notaries : the bishop of Demetrias Michael Panaretus (B, nr 5, 6, 11), the *taboullarios* of Demetrias Constantine Rangabes (nr 8, 9, 10) and the chartophylax (nr 7) of the same bishopric, as well as our nr B, 12 and 13 from the same area apparently follow a local formulary. We should note already, however, that all these documents are addressed to the same archons, the Maliasenoi. Similarities in formulating the clauses of *dynasteia* appear in the documents from Hierissos (A, nr 10-14), of Basil Beascus from Thessalonica (A, 15, 19), Demetrius Diabasemeres (A, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32), while two documents signed by the *taboullarios* John Perdicarius (A, 16, 17) present a different formulation of the clauses apparently because they had been written by different scribes, John Strymbacon (A, 16) and Demetrius Diabasemeres (A, 17). In particular the clause in the last document can be identified with those of other documents of the same notary. The only notary who combines clauses from two of our lists in the same document is Michael Limenites *taboullarios* of Crete (A, 5 ; C, 2). Nine documents were drawn up by notaries of the area of Demetrias, the bishop Michael Panaretus, the *taboullarios* Constantine Rangabes and the *chartophylax* of the bishopric, while the documents B, nr 12 and 13 must have been written by one of them : the formulation of the clause of *dynasteia* is identical with that of the other documents, while the clause of *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐπήρεια* appears only in the B, nr 10 written by Rangabes. A different pattern emerges from the documents written in the bishopric of Hierissos, while a more or less standard formulation of the clause is used by notaries of Thessalonica in the 13th/14th c. : *Ὅθεν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενος ἑκουσιοθελῶς σὺν τῷ μεταμέλῳ, τῇ πλάνῃ, τῇ βίᾳ, τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, τῇ δυναστείᾳ* (Basil Beascus [A, nr 15, 19], Demetrius Diabasemeres [A, nr 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32], Michael Sarantenus [A, nr 28], Nicolas Synadenus [A, nr 30, 33], John Anastasopoulos [A, nr 34]).

We will now try to discern pressure on the vendor in the texts of the transactions which might have dictated the introduction of the clause of *dynasteia* in the documents. According to the imperial legislation, in the transactions *βία* is exercised by the party which benefits from the agreement. This principle was also stressed in judicial decisions. For example, in a decision of the patriarchal tribunal in the year 1400 we read : *πάντες γὰρ οἱ πιπράσκοντες βίᾳ τινί ἢ χρέεσι κατεχόμενοι*

πιπράσκουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑνὶ δήπου βίαν δίκαιον αἰτιᾶσθαι, εἰ μήπου, ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ τῆς βίας αἰτία παρὰ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ συμβᾶσα ἀποδειχθῇ (265). In our lists only eleven documents pertain to transactions in favour of *dynatoi*: A, nr 34; B, nr 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15). The nine documents from Demetrias were donations in favour of Nicolas Angelus Comnenus Maliasenus, *gambros* of the emperor, and his wife Ann Doucaina Comnene Palaiologina Maliasene, niece of the emperor. The couple was buying land from the local peasants for the monastery of Saint John of Nea Petra which it intended to build. These documents are of particular interest for our investigation because they present significant similarities not only in the circumstances in which these sales took place, but also in the formulation of the clauses of warranty and the details of the conditions of the transactions. In the first document of this series (B, nr 5) the inhabitants of the village Dryanoubaina renounce their right to the annual *telos* imposed on the land bought by the archons (*ὡς τὸ ἐπικείμενον τῇ διαληφθείσῃ μονῇ στάσει ἐτήσιον τέλος, δηλονότι τὰ δύο τρίτον ὑπέρπυρα μὴ ἐπικεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ μονῇ, ἀλλὰ ἀτελῆ πάντη καὶ ἀκαταδούλωτον δεσπόζεσθαί τε καὶ νέμεσθαι παρὰ τῆς μονῆς τὴν τοιαύτην στάσιν*). The inhabitants of Dryanoubaina accepted that the above *telos* be imposed on them (*ἀναδεχόμεθα τὸ δηλωθὲν ἐτήσιον τέλος καὶ προστιθέμεθα τοῦτο τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐτησίοις ἀκροστίχοις, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο τελεῖσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀναλόγως κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰσχύν*). In the text of the document this is declared a donation for the salvation of their souls and as an expression of their love for the Maliasenoi (*τὸ μὲν χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπην, ἣν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν κεκτήμεθα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς πανευγενεστάτους ὁμοζύγους ὑπὲρ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ κυβερνήσεως καὶ εὐεργεσίας, ἣν καθ' ἑκάστην ἔχομεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν*) (266). The next document is a donation of the widow Zoe Syropoulou to the same *dynatoi* (B, nr 6). This document is one of the very few that we know, in which extreme poverty of the vendor is presented as the reason for the transaction (267). Zoe sells her entire property (*ἐπὶ παντελεῖ διαπράσει τὴν πᾶσαν καὶ παντοίαν μου στάσιν*). The price stipulated in the document did not represent the

(265) *MM* 2, 365.

(266) *Ibid.*, 4, 392.

(267) *Ibid.*, 394: *καὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μονογενὴς καὶ πτωχὴ καὶ ἐζητονημένη καὶ ἄπαις κατελείφθην καὶ μὴ ἔχουσα ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλῖναι, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ὑστερουμένη.*

real value of the property. Zoe admits that the real value was more than double or triple the price (*τὸ δ' ὑπέρπλεον τούτων, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πολὺ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ τριπλάσιον ὑπερβαίνει*) ([268]). The rest of the property representing the balance is declared a donation because Zoe intends to become a nun in the same monastery. The third document of this series (B, nr 7) presents an interesting detail. It is a sale conducted by a peasant, Michael Archontitzes, and his family. They possessed a *stasis* which was completely unproductive (*ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν συνεισφορὰν εἴχομεν* (*ἀπρόσοδον γὰρ πάντη καὶ ἀτημέλητον ἦν*), *εἰ μὴ καὶ μόνον εἰς κάθισιν ἡμῶν χρηματίζουσαν*). According to the text the couple Maliasenoi had the right to possess it, being the masters of the peasants, because the entire land of Dryanoubaina had been granted to the Maliasenoi by the emperor. The vendors praise the justice and the religious feelings of the Maliasenoi which dictated their decision to buy the land (*ὡς φύσει δικαιότατοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι ὄντες ἠθελήσατε ὡς ἀλλότριοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐξωνήσασθαι ταύτην*) ([269]). Further, the vendors declare that they consented to the sale of their land right away, which of course eliminates any suspicion about possible pressure from the *dynatoi*. They alone had decided about the price in the presence of all the *kreittones* of Dryanoubaina, clerics and laymen. The *dynatos* paid them with money which he took out of his chest (*ἀπὸ τοῦ κιβωτίου*). The vendors declare that they received the agreed amount of money from his hands in front of the witnesses (*ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν σου, τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου Κομνηνοῦ, εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας χεῖρας λαβόντες*) ([270]). In the Byzantine documents of transactions the standard notarial clause which was the warranty that the price was given to the vendor was that of *ἀναργυρία* ([271]). In our document it is stressed even further by the affirmative word *ἀληθῶς* (*σῶα καὶ ἀνελλιπῆ καὶ δίχα ἀναργυρίας οἱασδήτινος ἐνώπιον* ...). These stipulations, quite unusual in terms of details, in the Byzantine notarial documents, should not surprise us. Any suggestion of pressure is thus excluded, any doubt is suppressed. In the next document of this series (B, nr 8) the poverty of the vendors is presented as the reason which forced them into the sale of their land ([272]). They explain why they had decided to sell their

(268) *Ibid.*, 395.

(269) *Ibid.*, 397-8.

(270) *Ibid.*, 398. Cf. the non convincing remarks of FERRARI, *Documenti*, *op. cit.*, 131.

(271) *Ibid.*, 94-5.

(272) *MM* 4, 400 : *καὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν στενοχωρίας καὶ πτωχείας ἡμῶν*

vineyard : they needed the money to feed themselves and their small children (*ἐπὶ διαπράσει παντελεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦ τιμήματος τούτου θρέψαι καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνήλικα ἡμῶν τέκνα*). They begged the couple Maliasenoi (*μετὰ παρακλήσεως ὅτι πολλῆς*). In the presence of the bishop of Demetrias and other witnesses, both parties agreed on the price (10 *nomismata*), while the surplus of the real value of the vineyard, which was more than double (*εἰ καὶ τὸ διπλάσιον κατὰ πολὺ ὑπερβαίνει*), was donated to the convent of Prodromos ([273]). Similar are the conditions of our nr 9 : extreme poverty of the vendor and price reduced to less than half of the real value of the sold property ([274]). The document nr 10 of the list B is a sale of a vineyard of the monastery of Saint George of Kanalia to the same couple. The monks proceeded to the transaction in order to pay the debts of their monastery. They declare that no one wanted to buy it because it was unproductive. Then like other vendors, they begged the couple Maliasenoi (*παρακλητεύσαντες οὖν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀλίγα*) and the *dynatoi* responded to their demand (*ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ὑπεκλίνατε ὥτα πειθήνια τῇ αἰτήσει ἡμῶν τῶν μοναχῶν*). It is possible that the Maliasenoi hesitated to buy monastic land because such transactions were permitted only under special circumstances. They did not hesitate, however, to fix the price at a very low amount. The monks of Saint George declared the balance a gift to the monastery of the Maliasenoi, because the purchased property was not in good shape (*ἀτημέλητον*) ([275]). In the document B, nr 11 severe poverty of the peasants-vendors is again the reason for the sale of their vineyard. In this case the Maliasenoi had the pre-emption right (*ὡς δίκαια ἔχουσι πλησιασμῶν*), because the vineyard was located near the land bought by them for their monastery. The peasants begged them to buy their land (*διὰ τὴν παράκλησιν ἡμῶν*). The price was again less than half of the real value of the property, while the balance is donated to the monastery of the Maliasenoi ([276]). Similar are the conditions and the terms in our next two documents (B, nr 12, 13) : extreme poverty of the vendors, price reduced to less than half of the real value

τῆς προσγενομένης ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πολυχρονίου κοσμικῆς σιτοδείας κατηντήσαμεν εἰς παντελῆ ἀπορίαν ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ὑστερεῖσθαι, κἀντεῦθεν κινδυνεύομεν λιμαγχονηθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἀνηλίκοις παισὶν ἡμῶν.

(273) *Ibid.*, 401.
(274) *Ibid.*, 403.
(275) *Ibid.*, 405-6.
(276) *Ibid.*, 408-9.

of the purchased property, the balance is considered a donation to the monastery of the Maliasenoi, and the payment is secured by the presence of witnesses (277).

The unusual details in the circumstances of these transactions, as well as their special clauses and the conditions of the agreements strongly suggest that the *dynatos* Maliasenus had imposed his terms on the vendors. In two other documents of transactions of monasteries with the convent of Makrinitissa only a few years later, the clause of *dynasteia* has been omitted. Obviously the conditions in which these agreements were made were entirely different from those with the clause of *dynasteia* (278). That eliminates the possibility that the clauses of *dynasteia* were introduced into the documents from Demetrias merely in accordance with a local formulary. In other documents, the clause of *dynasteia* may be justified because the transactions were in favour of monastic institutions.

The first document of the list B deserves separate treatment. It is an *antallage* between the *proedros* Nicephorus Bourtzes and the monastery of Docheiariou from the year 1117. This document is written very carefully with particular attention to the clauses of warranty, which are artfully developed. The editor points to evidence which suggests that there has been considerable delay in bringing the document into its final form (279). A second *taboullarios* had been invited because Bourtzes was *ὀλιγογράμματος*, a written agreement of his wife had to be secured because the property was part of her dowry, and permission had to be obtained from the *protos* to authorize the alienation of monastic property. These reasons had caused a significant delay and obviously various negotiations had taken place in which the concerns of both parties were expressed. That could explain all the precautions taken to protect both parties, especially the monastery from claims for invalidation of the transaction. Two new terms are introduced in the otherwise standard clause of warranty in the beginning of the text : the *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δυναστεία* and *ἀπειρία*. The latter could easily be justified : Bourtzes was *ὀλιγογράμματος* and *ἄπειρος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐγγράφων ποιήσεσιν* (280). With reference to the *ekklesiastike dynasteia*

(277) *Ibid.*, 410-11, 412-3.

(278) *Ibid.*, 420-1 (1276) ; 426-9 (1275). On the Maliasenoi cf. B. FERJANČIĆ, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji", *ZRVI* 9 (1966), 33-48.

(279) *Docheiariou*, p. 77.

(280) *Ibid.*, 4 l. 62.

the document gives us some hints. The notary emphasizes that the agreement came naturally, and in any case it had not been initiated by Docheiariou. Bourtzes heard from some friends (*ἤκουσταί μοι διά τινων φίλων*) that Docheiariou wanted to exchange its property in Thessalonica with another one in the country. He went to the *hegoumenos* and he made an offer which was accepted immediately. This account is very similar to that in the documents of Demetrias in favour of Maliasenoi. Further in our document we find a unique formulation of the renunciation of the principle of *anargyria* (Bourtzes, together with the property in Thessalonica, received also 50 old *hyperpera*) : *ἢ δόσεως ἄλλων νομισμάτων ὀχλῆσαι ὑμᾶς πειραθῶ, προβαλλόμενος ἴσως καὶ λέγων "πολλοῦ τιμήματος ἄξιον ὢν τὸ προάστειον ὀλίγα αὐτὸς εἰλήφειν", κάντεῦθεν διασείσω ὑμᾶς ἢ ἀγωγὴν ὡς ὀπωσοῦν ἐπάξω ὑμῖν* ... ([281]). The formulation of this clause may suggest that perhaps the 50 *παλαιά hyperpera* did not make up the difference of the market value of the exchanged properties.

The *ekklesiastike dynasteia* is also implied by the term *dynasteia* in our A, nr 6. The transaction is a donation by a private individual to the monastery of Saint John Theologos in Patmos where he was planning to retreat later. The *dynasteia* appears among the standard terms of the clause of warranty in the beginning of the text : the donor acted *bona fide* without any fear or pressure. Further, in another clause, the donor gets the assurance that in the future the *hegoumenos* of the monastery won't press him to offer more than what he had already donated : *εἰ δ' ἴσως, ὅπερ ἀπεύχομαι, καὶ φέρει ἡ φορὰ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν, οὐκ ὀφείλω βιάζεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ καθηγουμένου ἢ τῶν μοναχῶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς μονῆς εἰς ἀπόδοσιν πλέον τῶν τὴν σήμερον δοθέντων πρὸς αὐτήν* ([282]).

But the clause of the *dynasteia* is included in a few documents of transactions in favour of private individuals. Our A, nr 5 (= C, nr 2) is addressed to the *notarios* Leo Orestes from Crete. Both clauses of *καταδυναστεία* and *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐπικουρία* are to be found in this document. Some particular circumstances in this transaction may have dictated the use of these clauses. The vendors were unable to find any neighbour or other person who had preferential right to the property

(281) *Ibid.*, ll. 49-50.
(282) *MM* 6, 134.

(*ὡς μηδένα εὑρόντες τῶν πλησιαστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ μακρόθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀπαναινομένων*) interested in buying it (283). The *logariastes* Michael Chrysoberges gave his written permission to the *taboullarios* Michael Limenites to draw a document of sale for the *notarios* Leo Orestes, who appeared to have been the only prospective purchaser. The three other transactions in favour of private individuals that we know (A, nr 7, 16, 20) do not present particular difficulties, because the term *dynasteia* might simply have been used instead of the generic term *βία*. In the B nr 4 the clauses of *ἀρχοντικὴ ἐπικουρία* and *πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία* may conceal a pressure exercised by the monastery of Vazelon on the vendors : a field had been given as security for a loan of two *hyperpyra* of the grand-father of the vendors to Vazelon ; although his grand-children paid later the money and the field was returned to them, the monastery insisted in retaining it. The monks claimed the pre-emption right (*ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς προτιμήσεως εὔλογον εἶχεν* : ll. 28-29) and the price was set at 26 *ἄσπρα κυρμανουηλάτα*. In the text it is stressed that the price was just (*δικαίαν τιμήν* : l. 42). The only document of transaction in favour of a private individual in which the clause *αὐθεντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία* is included among the other clauses of warranty is our B, nr 3. It comes from Dyrrachium from the year 1246. It is possible that the notary, the *taboullarios* Nicolas Peregrinus, had mechanically copied a local formulary. Finally in our A, nr 34 the price has been reduced by the vendor, the nun Agape Angelina Sphrantzaina Palaiologina, because of her relation to the purchasers, her brother and son-in-law (284).

The clause of *archontike dynasteia* was far from being applied to all transactions in favour of *dynatoi*. We know many documents in favour of ecclesiastical institutions in which the above terms are omitted. But more significant are the documents of transactions in favour of archons in which these legal clauses are absent. We know eighteen such documents :

1. 1024, Febr. Mount Athos. Deed of sale of the monk George tou Harzana to the *protospatharios, strategos* of Hellas, Tornicius Contoleon : *Lavra* I, 25.
Notary : the monk Athanasius.

(283) *Ibid.*, 125.
(284) *Lavra* III, app. XII ll. 16-17.

2. 1207, July. Hieron. Deed of sale of Basil Magkaphas to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios,* George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 151-2.
Notary : an anonymous cleric and *nomikos.*

3. 1207, Nov. Smyrna. Deed of sale of Michael Gounaropoulos and his family to the *megaloendoxotatos, oikeios, bestiarites* of the emperor, Basil Blaterus : *MM* 4, pp. 185-7.
Notary : Constantine Xanthus, cleric, *nomikos.*

4. 1208, March. Smyrna. Deed of sale of the monk Nicodemus Gounaropoulos and his family to the *eugenestate* Ann, widow of Nicetas Blaterus : *MM* 4, pp. 183-4.
Notary : Constantine Xanthus, *skevophylax.*

5. 1212, Oct. Miletus. Deed of sale of Basil Comanes and his wife to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios*, George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 156-8.
Notary : Constantine Myrsiniotes, cleric, *nomikos.*

6. 1213, Febr. Miletus. Deed of sale of Leo Mandales and his family to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios*, George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 158-160.
Notary : Constantine Myrsiniotes, cleric, *nomikos.*

7. 1213, March. Miletus. Deed of sale of Eirene Elpidaina and her family to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios*, George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 160-2.
Notary : Constantine Myrsiniotes, cleric, *nomikos.*

8. 1213, March. Miletus. Deed of sale of Michael Kouneres and hir family to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios*, George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 162-4.
Notary : Constantine Myrsiniotes, cleric, *nomikos.*

9. 1213, March. Miletus. Deed of sale of Manuel, son of the late George tou Kastrou, and his family to the *megaloendoxotatos, protobestiarios*, George Eunouchos : *MM* 6, pp. 164-5.
Notary : Constantine Myrsiniotes, cleric, *nomikos.*

10. 1217, June. Thessalonica. *Eklepsis* of Nicolas Tzykalas with the *pansebastos, sebastos, doulos* of the emperor, Isaac Kokkalas : *MM* 3, pp. 237-9.
Notary : Jeremias Cheimadas, cleric, *taboullarios* ; scribe : Demetrius Hermogenes, cleric.

11. 1274, Jan. Smyrna. Deed of sale of the priest Michael Tzykapites and Theotokes Koskinas to the *paneugenestatos* Theodore Comnenus Branas : *MM* 4, pp. 115-7.
Notary : Nicolas Philokynegites, cleric, *nomikos.*

12. 1281, Oct. 27th. Smyrna. Deed of sale of the widow Maria Angelina to the *paneugenestatos* Theodore Comnenus Branas : *MM* 4, pp. 122-4.
Notary : Nicolas Philokynegites, cleric, *nomikos*.

13. 1286, May-Jan. Tiberioupolis. Deed of sale of Dragios and his daughter to the *sebastos* Theodore Tetragonites : *Schatzkammern* 110 ll. 1-21.
Notary : John Nenos, cleric, *taboullarios*.

14. 1286, May-Jan. Tiberioupolis. Deed of sale of Theodore and his family to the *sebastos* Theodore Tetragonites : *Schatzkammern* 110 ll. 21-34.
Notary : John Nenos, cleric, *taboullarios*.

15. 1286, May-June. Deed of sale of John and his uncle Prodilas to the *sebastos* Theodore Tetragonites : *Schatzkammern* 110 ll. 35-56.
Notary : John Nenos, cleric, *taboullarios*.

16. 1358, Aug. Constantinople. Donation of Ann Tornikina *pingernissa* and her family in favour of the *megas stratopedarches* Alexius and the *megas primikerios* John : *Panteleemon* 12.
Notary : Nicolas, cleric, *taboullarios*.

17. 1368, March. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Maria Laskarina to the *megas stratopedarches* Alexios, *sympentheros* of the emperor : *Pantocrator* 7.
Notary : Nicolas Synadenos, sakelliou of the metropolis of Thessalonica.

18. 1373, Jan. Thessalonica. Deed of sale of Batopedi to the *endoxotatoi* Michael and Constantine Cyprianus : Batopedinos, *Gregorios ho Palamas* 4(1920), pp. 631-3.
Notary : unknown.

Finally we should mention a series of 110 documents in favour of Theodora Angelina Cantacuzene, mother of the *megas domestikos* and future emperor John VI. From these documents only three have been recently published (285). The abbreviated format in which they have been preserved constitutes a significant impediment for our investigation, since the copyist had omitted all the legal clauses of warranty.

In a few documents in which the clause of *dynasteia* is omitted we are able to discern with certainty some form of pressure on the vendor or donor. For example a direct reference to *dynasteia* is found in a

(285) Cf. L. MAVROMATIS, "Note sur la grande propriété en Macédoine. 1337/1338", *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 74-76.

document containing a series of sales in favour of the monastery of Zographou in the year 1321. In one of these sales the vendor Dragotzes with his people (*μετὰ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ μου*) declares that he is selling a field through his own will without being impeded by anyone. He specifies, however, that he sold the land under pressure for 15 *hyperpyra* : *καὶ βιαστῆς (βιασθείς) ἐπώλησα τοῦτο εἰς ὑπέρπυρα δεκαπέντε, μοδίων δεκαπέντε* (286). This is not, however surprising, a unique case in our sources. A second document from the archives of the same monastery reveals similar conditions of the transaction. This document is a deed of sale of the monastery of Batopedi in favour of Zographou of the year 1270. It appears that there has been some sort of pressure during the negotiations about the price : *τῆς διαπράσεως οὖν τούτου παρ' ἡμῶν μελλούσης γενέσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκβιασάντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τιμήματι προστεθέντων* (287). In other documents it is clearly indicated that the price of the transferred property was less than the real value, without this being considered *dynasteia*, but the vendor appears to have decided in favour of a significant reduction of the price through his own will (288). An imperial *prostaxis* cited in a *praktikon* of the *sebastos* John Comnenus in 1104 refers to claims of the monks of the monastery of Iviron, that pressure had been exercised on them by the *protoproedros* Constantine Bourtzes in a transaction of exchange (*antallage*). Indeed, an examination of the signatures of the monks showed that two of them, those of the hegoumenos and the oikonomos had stated in their signatures that they had signed under pressure (289). This evidence, however, was not accepted by the emperor as a reason for declaring null the agreement, because all the other monks had signed with their own free will.

(286) *Zographou* 19 l. 69.

(287) *Ibid.*, 9 ll. 15-17.

(288) Cf. for example *Docheiariou*, 42 ll. 25-32 (1373) ; *Kutlumus* 13 l. 10 : *ἐλάβωμεν τίμημα μικρόν* (1327 ; the transaction is presented as a sale) ; *Iviron* I, 26 ll. 18-20 (1042) ; Batopedinos, *Gregorios ho Palamas* 4 (1920), 631-3, 633-5.

(289) *Iviron* 52 ll. 50-57 : *Εἰ γὰρ καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ κατὰ βίαν εἶπον ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀνταλλαγήν, καὶ εἰς πίστωσιν τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀμοιβαίῳ χάρτῃ τοῦ Βούρτζη φερομένας προταγὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων μοναχῶν ἠξίουν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων δηλουμένης τῆς βίας — καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναγνωσθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων προταγῶν ὅσαι ἰβηρικοῖς γράμμασιν ἦσαν συντεθειμέναι, δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἥ τε τοῦ καθηγουμένου καὶ ἡ τοῦ οἰκονόμου, εὑρέθησαν τοῦτο αὐτὸ δηλοῦσαι, ὅτι κατὰ βίαν ἐγένοντο — ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδέξατο τοῦτο ἡ βασιλεία μου, διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν μοναχῶν τῶν ποιησάντων τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀρεσκομένων, τὸ τοὺς δύο μόνους ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῇ τῶν πολλῶν γνώμῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἀπαρέσκεσθαι κατὰ μηδὲν τῷ Βούρτζῃ προσίστασθαι.*

The study of the use of the clause of *dynasteia* as a clause of warranty in the Byzantine notarial documents raises the question of its efficiency in the transactions. Monnier suggested that in the 12th c. these clauses were no longer of any use, but that the prudent *nomikoi* maintained the clauses inherited from their ancestors (290). Of course clauses of warranty could not secure the transactions if, in case of contestation of the validity of a document, it could be demonstrated in the tribunal that *dynasteia* or some other circumstance, which was contrary to the stipulations of the law, was involved. The various clauses of warranty in Byzantine notarial documents suggest that contestations of the validity of transactions were very frequent and that not only the specialists, such as notaries and judges, were aware of the restrictions of the law regarding transactions, but also private individuals. The various judicial decisions dealing with such cases suggest this conclusion. A section of Nicephorus Choumnus' *diatheke* is explicit in this respect : *Νῦν, ὅτε ταῦτα, μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ ταράττοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, δεῖν ἔγνων ἀπειργάσθαι μοι τὴν διαθήκην (καὶ ἀπείργασται), μηδὲν βίαιον τῇ ψυχῇ μηδ' ἀβούλητον ἔχουσαν. Καὶ κράτιστόν γε τοῦτο πάντως καὶ παρὰ κριταῖς πᾶσι ψήφοις ἁπάσαις, καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν. Αὐτίκα γὰρ καὶ νόμοι πάντες καὶ νομοθέται τοῦθ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διασκοποῦνται, περὶ τούτου καὶ τὸν ὅλον ποιοῦνται λόγον, ἐπ' ἀκραιφνοῦς τινος τῆς τοῦ συντάττοντος γνώμης, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς τινος, ἱδρῦσθαι τὰ διατάγματα* (291).

Our observations regarding the use of the above legal clauses in Byzantine notarial documents lead us to the following conclusions. The general clause of *dynasteia* (list A), attested from the 11th c., might have been used as a stronger term in place of *βία*. The *ekklesiastike dynasteia* appears in only one document (B, nr 1) from the 12th c., the *archontike dynasteia* with its variants (list B, nr 2-17) is found only from the 13th c. on, while the *archontike* and *ekklesiastike epikouria* (list C) appear already in the 9th c. How shall we explain this phenomenon ? The first interpretation that appears possible is to look for a Latin influence. But these clauses do not appear in any document established in areas of the Byzantine empire under Latin occupation. One may consider Latin influence in the document of our B, nr 3 from

(290) MONNIER, 320.

(291) J. Fr. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regiis* (Paris, 1833 ; Hildesheim, 1962) vol. 5, 319.

Dyrrachium (*αὐθεντικὴ καὶ πρακτορικὴ ἐξουσία*). But neither the other clauses nor the conditions and terms of the transaction show any influence of Latin legal practice. The clause of *dynasteia* appears also in the Greek documents from Italy : the term *τυραννίς*, for example, is found in an *antallage* of the year 1122 between a priest and a private individual (292) ; interesting is the formulation of the clause of *archontike dynasteia* in a donation of several individuals (among them a priest and the son of a *krites*) in favour of a church of the year 1132 : *ἐκτὸς πάσης ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας καὶ οὐκ ἀρχοντικῶς καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τυραννικῇ* (293) ; in a deed of sale of a widow and her children toward an archon (*πρός σε τὸν ἄρχοντα κύρον Ἰωάννην*) of the year 1202 the clause of *dynasteia* is formulated in general terms : *ἐκτὸς πάσης βίας τε καὶ τυραννίδος* (294). We thus understand why in this document the price is described as *τὴν δικαίαν αὐτοῦ τιμήν*. If we try to interpret this phenomenon as a result of imperial legislation, we will be surprised to observe that the clause of *epikouria* appears before the 10th c. legislation in favour of the *adynatoi*, in the year 897, while the clause of *ekklesiastike dynasteia* one century later and the *archontike dynasteia* two centuries later.

In view of these difficulties one may suggest the following explanations. In our analysis of the *dynasteia* on the basis of various sources from the early Byzantine centuries we have concluded that an evolution can be discerned particularly in the legislative sources in the language used to designate this social phenomenon, as well as in the underlying attitudes to it. The language of these texts appears gradually more and more direct and unreserved which, as we have suggested, can be explained both as a change in the style of these texts and as an expression of changing attitudes. On the other hand new radical measures were introduced by the legislation of the 10th c. The abuses of the *dynatoi* were no longer concealed. Thus we may suggest that the clause of *archontike* and *ekklesiastike epikouria* being less strong was introduced first in the notarial documents, even before the laws of the Macedonian emperors. Next came the *dynasteia* and *katadynasteia* which were stronger than the general term *βία*. They were perhaps introduced under the influence of the 10th c. legislation

(292) Trinchera, nr 92 (p. 121) : *ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ τυραννίᾳ ἐσυνήλλαξα τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οἰκείᾳ βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ* ...

(293) *Ibid.*, nr 112 (p. 149 ll. 4-5).

(294) *Ibid.*, nr 252 (p. 342 l. 24). Cf. also FERRARI, *Documenti*, *op. cit.*, 48.

and of the judicial practice. Last appears the *archontike dynasteia*. It can be related to a parallel elaboration of the notion of the *ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία* by the Byzantine jurists in their scholia on institutions of the earlier legislation. Thus for example, the Byzantine jurist Garidas in a scholion on Basilica 21, 1, 40 develops the theme of *archontike dynasteia* as follows : *ὡς ὅταν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχόντων ἔχῃ τις δίκαιον κατὰ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ ὑποβεβηκότος, καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν δυναστείαν δεδιότες οἱ μάρτυρες ἀναποδίζωσι πρὸς τὴν μαρτυρίαν* ([295]). A similar phenomenon has been noticed in the 12th c. commentaries on canon law : the Byzantine canonists introduce the *archontike dynasteia* in their commentaries on ecclesiastical canons which in most cases do not refer to it ([296]). We may discern a similar change in the style of the documents issued by offices of the imperial administration (*chrysoboulla, prostagmata, horismoi*, etc.) the clauses of warranty are gradually but constantly becoming more and more descriptive by the juxtaposition of various synonymous terms ([297]). The term *καταδυναστεία* becomes more or less standard in these clauses. In a *chrysoboullon* of the emperor Constantine Monomachus issued in the year 1045 in favour of the Nea *mone* in Chios the formulation of the clause of warranty is the following : *μή τινα δικαστὴν εἰς τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν μονὴν παριέναι δίκης οἱασδήτινος ἕνεκεν, μήτε τι σύμβολον ἀρχικῆς δυναστείας κατ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι* ([298]). In a *chrysoboullon* of the year 1302 of Andronicus II Palaeologus, for example, the formulation of the clause of warranty is the following : *καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι παρά τινος τῶν ἁπάντων διασεισμόν ... μήτε μήν ... εὑρίσκειν παρὰ τῶν τὰ τοῦ δημοσίου διενεργούντων ἢ ἑτέρων ἀδικίαν καὶ ἐπίθεσιν, καταδυναστείαν τε καὶ κατατριβήν* ([299]). In a *prostagma* of the same emperor the formulation of the clause is similar : *καὶ οὐδὲν εὑρίσκωσιν οὗτοι δὴ οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄχλησιν καὶ καταδυναστείαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τινὰ παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων χεῖρα πλεονεκτικὴν καὶ ἄδικον ἐπάγειν ἐπ' αὐτά* ([300]). The same clause is also found in judicial decisions. For

(295) Basilica p. 1261/7. Cf. also SIMON, Untersuchungen, *op. cit.*, 214.

(296) H. SARADI, *op. cit.*

(297) On the rhetorical elements of the documents of the imperial administration cf. J. BOMPAIRE, "Diplomatique et rhétorique à l'époque des Paléologues", *XVIIIth Int. Congr. of Byz. Studies, op. cit.*, I, 153.

(298) *MM* 2, 3.

(299) *Lavra* II, 94 l. 26.

(300) *Xeropotamou* 15 ll. 4-6. Cf. also *Chilandar* 16 l. 21 (1300), 17 l. 23 (1300), 20 l. 22 (1304), 22 l. 18 (1304), 31 l. 46 (1316), 32 ll. 141-2 (1317), 33 ll. 64-66 (1317),

example, in a decision of the *katholikoi kritai* of the year 1334 we read : *δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγομεν καὶ ἀποφαινόμεθα, ὡς ἂν κατέχῃ καὶ πάλιν ἡ δηλωθεῖσα ... μονὴ τὴν εἰρημένην γῆν .... καὶ οὐδὲν εὑρίσκωσι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων .... τὴν τυχοῦσαν καταδυναστείαν ἢ διενόχλησιν* ([301]). It may well be that these clauses simply reflect a substantial reinforcement of the class of the *dynatoi* in the last centuries of Byzantium.

The social historian of Byzantium might be puzzled by what seems to be a paradox : the more the power of the upper class was assured, especially after the 10th c. ([302]), the better the social problem was defined in legal terms. It has been recognized as such in a variety of sources, particularly the legal documents dealing with various forms of social interaction. This awareness appears inexplicable. It has often been recognized, with reference to the earlier legislation, that social changes are reflected in changes in the legal texts. Thus harsher penalties were introduced in the Roman law as result of the increasing power of the upper class ([303]). Or, Christian influence has been discerned in various changes of the imperial legislation in the early period, especially in the Justinianic legislation ([304]). How can we explain the "progressive" attitudes to the *archontike dynasteia* we have observed in the Byzantine

47 l. 13 (1319), 67 l. 27 (1321), 81 l. 8 (1322), 90 l. 26 (1323), 102 l. 39 (1324), 103 l. 17 (1324), 104 l. 35 (1324), 116 l. 72 (1327), 149 l. 20 (1365) ; *Xenophon* 23 l. 57 (1335) ; *Zographou* 20 ll. 22-23 (1321) ; *Kutlumus* 10 ll. 87-88 (1321), 11 l. 39 (1322), 37 ll. 27-28 (1380 ; *πατριαρχικὸν γράμμα*) ; *Docheiariou* 16 l. 17 (1325-32), 21 ll. 40-41 (1343) ; *Lavra* II 79 l. 14 (1287 ; *gramma* of the *protos*), 94 l. 26 (1302), 106 l. 14 (1319), 107 ll. 13-14 (1319), 110 l. 15 (1321), 115 l. 23 (1326), 129 l. 14 (1350 ?), 138 l. 20 (1360 ; *sigilliodes gramma* of the patriarch), 142 l. 18 (1365), 149 ll. 13-14 (1378), 166 l. 21 (1428 or 1443).

(301) *Esphigmenou* 19 ll. 30-34.

(302) Cf. G. G. Litavrin, "Problema gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii", *VV* 35 (1973), 64 ff. ; Idem, "Otnositel' nye razmery i sostav imusščestva provinsial' noj vizantijskoj aristokratii", *VO* 1971, 152-168 ; Kazhdan, *Social' nyj sostav gospodstvujuscego klassa*, *op. cit.*, 226-237 ; on the increase of the large estates after the 10th c. cf. Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, 202 ff.

(303) Cf. for example P. Garnsey, "Why Penalties become harsher : The Roman Case. Late Republic to Fourth Century Empire", *Natural Law Forum* 13 (Indiana) 1968, 141-162, esp. 160-1.

(304) Cf. particularly Z. V. Udal'Cova (*supra* n. 17), 3-45, 27 (1967), 3-37. But O. Stanojevic, "La protezione dei poveri : influsso del cristianesimo o politica antifeudale ?", *Atti dell' Accademia romanistica costantiniana. VII convegno internazionale*, 495-500, concluded that with reference to the protection of the poor, Christian moralaity influenced the imperial legislation of late antiquity less than in the Middle Ages.

sources ? On the basis of the evidence examined in this study, it appears that such attitudes were introduced by state initiative, i.e. the imperial legislation. The predominant role of the state in the development of the social structure of Byzantium has been recognized with reference to the landed property ([305]). It appears that from the end of the proto-byzantine period the state assumed the role which the Church had played in the first period. Thus we may explain what we have concluded in another study, namely that the ecclesiastical texts of the middle and late Byzantine periods do not manifest any change in attitudes toward the *archontike dynasteia*, while a gradual but significant change is observed in the legislative sources ([306]). In concluding it will be useful to contrast this observation with the development of the western medieval society. There the predominant attitude to poverty and social injustice was that of the Church : a moral approach to it and a religious justification of it, often accompanied by compassion. The Church's inability to react to social tensions which since the 10th c. had taken the form of popular movements is illustrated by the new concept of idealized poverty, both involuntary and voluntary, of the 11th/12th c., best expressed by St Francis of Assisi. But in the West legislation concerning the poor and weak appears very late. Thus M. Mollat remarks : "Le pire est que de telles attitudes n'étaient pas seulement le fait des individus mais des autorités civiles. La législation sur les pauvres commence au XIVe siècle et les pouvoirs municipaux ne réglementent seulement à leur bénéfice que le prix des denrées ; ils contrôlent la mendicité, pourchassent les vagabonds, sans distinction" ([307]).

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(305) Cf. LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obscestvo*, *op. cit.*, 109.

(306) H. SARADI, *op. cit.*

(307) M. MOLLAT, *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté* (*supra* n. 2) 28 ; IDEM, *The Poor in the Middle Ages. An Essay in Social History*, transl. A. Goldhammer (New Haven & London, 1986), 272 ff.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Chilandar : Actes de Chilandar. I. Actes Grecs, ed. R. P. L. Petit (St Petersbourg, 1911).

Dionysiou : Actes de Dionysiou, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris, 1968).

Docheiariou : Actes de Docheiariou, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris, 1984).

Esphigmenou : Actes d'Esphigménou, ed. J. Lefort (Paris, 1973).

Ferrari, Formulari : G. Ferrari, "Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina", *Bullettino dell' Istituto storico italiano* 33 (1912) = *Scritti Giuridici* I (Milan, 1953), 337-408.

Iviron : Actes d'Iviron I : Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle (Paris, 1985). *II : du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1990).

Kutlumus : Actes de Kutlumus, ed. P. Lemerle (Paris, 1945).

Lavra I, II, III : Actes de Lavra, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou. *I : Des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970). *II : De 1204 à 1328* (Paris, 1977) ; *III : De 1329-1500* (Paris, 1979).

Lemerle, Histoire Agraire : P. Lemerle, Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance : les sources et les problèmes, *Revue Historique* 219 (1958), 32-74, 254-84 ; 220 (1958), 43-94.

Lemerle, *Agrarian History* : P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century. The Sources and Problems* (Galway, 1979).

MM : F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, 6 vol. (Vienna, 1860-1890).

Ostrogorsky, *Agrarian Conditions* : G. Ostrogorsky, Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 1966, 205-234, 774-9.

Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* : G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956).

Ostrogorsky, Pre-Emption Right : G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-Emption Right. An Abortive Reform of the Macedonian Emperors", *JRS* 37 (1947), 117-126.

Panteleemon : Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković (Paris, 1982).

Pantocrator : Actes du Pantocrator, ed. V. Kravari (Paris, 1991).

Protaton : Actes de Prôtaton, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1975).

Sathas, *MB* : C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vol. (Venice-Paris, 1872-94).

Schatzkammern : F. DÖLGER, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948).

SIMON, Kaufformular : D. SIMON, "Ein Spätbyzantinisches Kaufformular", *Flores Legum H. J. Scheltema oblati* (Groningen, 1971), 155-181.

SIMON-TROIANOS, Geschäftsformulare : D. SIMON, Sp. TROIANOS, "Dreizehn Geschäftsformulare", *Fontes Minores* II (Frankfurt, 1977), 262-295.

Vazelon : Th. OUSPENSKY-V. BÉNÉCHÉVITCH, *Actes de Vazélon (Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la propriété rurale et monastique à Byzance aux XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Leningrad, 1927).

Xenophon : Actes de Xénophon, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (Paris, 1978).

Xeropotamou : Actes de Xéropotamou, ed. J. BOMPAIRE (Paris, 1964).

Zographou : Actes de Zographou, ed. W. REGEL, E. KURTZ & B. KORABLEV, *VV* 13 (1907), Priloženie, 1.

HERACLIUS AND THE UNFINISHED THEMES OF ORIENS SOME FINAL OBSERVATIONS (*)

The origin of the Umayyad *Ajnād* (plural of *Jund*), the large military districts that constituted Bilād al-Shām, former Byzantine Oriens after the Arab Conquest, and that persisted well into Medieval times, is one of the most important problems of Umayyad history, as well as of Oriens in the proto-Byzantine period. In two articles which appeared in the eighties in this Journal (1), I have argued that these Umayyad *Ajnād*, the four military circumscriptions into which al-Shām was divided, were pre-Conquest Byzantine themes that went back to the reign of Heraclius. It was this emperor, who came to Jerusalem to return the Cross after its Babylonian captivity of some fifteen years, that drastically re-organized Oriens, in which the Holy Land lay, into four large military provinces that ran parallel to one another, as a series of defense lines against an invading army from the north, targeting Jerusalem. Such an invasion had, indeed, taken place in the early years of his reign when the Persians overran Oriens, captured Jerusalem, and occupied the entire region for some two decades. The argument is long and complex and one item in it pertained to the term *Jund* itself, incomprehensible in Arabic lexicology and unique in the provincial Islamic administrative system (2), a term that meant army corps and military district, clearly a translation of the equally

(*) I should like to thank Fr. Sh. Abouzayd for permission to present this amplified version of the paper I read at the Fourth International Conference of ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies held in Oxford, September 1993, and also Warren Treadgold and Michael Pavkovic for some fruitful conversations on the Themes.

(1) See "Heraclius and the Theme System : New Light from the Arabic Sources" *Byzantion*, LVII (1987), 391-406, and "Heraclius and the Theme System : Further Observations" *Byzantion*, LIX (1989), 208-243, henceforth referred to as "Further Observations". I should not like to encumber this article unnecessarily with footnotes, which may be found in these two articles, essential background for a better comprehension of the argument of the present one.

(2) Only applied to the provinces of al-Shām, the ex-Byzantine Diocese of Oriens.

controversial term, *thema*, which meant exactly that. This re-organization of Oriens along thematic lines was the natural reaction to a military necessity on the part of an emperor who had taken the field, was not an arm-chair strategist, who had fought his *reconquista* as a crusader and, above all, was the son of an exarch who ran his province of Africa virtually as a military *theme*. The conclusions on the thematization of Oriens are relevant not only to the historians of the Umayyad empire but also those of Byzantium who deal with the controversial Theme system and its origins. They represent an entirely new approach to the problem and endow Heraclius with the distinction of having introduced the Theme system in a *primitive* form in Oriens as he did in Anatolia, where it was fully developed and where it is well known to Byzantinists. For the Umayyad historians, these *Ajnād* represent an outstanding example of assimilation by the Islamic state of a distinctively Byzantine system, that of the themes.

I had no axe to grind when I wrote the two articles. I was merely a transmitter of absolutely hard facts from the Arabic sources which are of crucial relevance to solving the *vexata quaestio* of the Byzantine themes. In the debate over the origin of the themes, which has been going on for almost a century, the data from the Arabic sources have given strong support to the traditional view, formulated by George Ostrogorsky on the Heraclian origin of the themes, and they have opened an entirely new chapter in the dabete since they have drawn attention to the Heraclian achievement in an area that had not before been suspected, namely, Oriens. Predictably, these conclusions have found favor with those who have argued that it was the emperor Heraclius who started the thematization of the empire. One dissenting voice in print has bee that of our colleague, John Haldon, who has countered by saying that these pre-Islamic *Ajnād* were not Heraclian themes but the old ducates. He has, however, made a large and significant concession when he went along with the argument that these Umayyad *Ajnād*, "clearly predate the actual conquest of these areas". In view of the importance of this new debate on the Heraclian origin of the Oriental *Junds*/ themes, his own words may be quoted *in extenso* (3) :

> "It has also been argued that the *themata* are to be identified with a number of districts which appear in the earliest Arab accounts of the

(3) See John HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 215, n. 27.

conquest of Syria and which clearly predate the actual conquest of these areas. These districts are referred to as Junds (Arab. Jund. pl. Ajnad), and it has been argued that they actually represent the military zones of a Heraclian thematic reorganisation. See I. Shahid, 'Heraclius and the Theme system : new light from the Arabic', B 67 (1987), 391-403 ; and I Shahid, 'Heraclius and the Theme System : Further Observations', B 69 (1989), 208-43. In fact, as I have shown elsewhere, they do represent pre-Muslim military districts, but they have nothing at all to do with any supposed thematic system. On the contrary, they represent in fact the much older districts (*ducatus*) of the *duces* of Phoenice Libanensis, Arabia and Palestine, the first divided up into two zones during the sixth century, centred around Emesa and Damascus respectively. These Ajnad therefore demonstrate a remarkable degree of continuity with the traditional late Roman system of frontier defence, being nothing more nor less than the military districts of the *limitanei* of these regions".

John Haldon is a well-known authority on the Seventh Century and what he says on its themes/ducates cannot be ignored. I should therefore like to examine his views because the challenge they pose is important to Byzantinists and Arabists alike and agreement on this important topic is desirable before the next step in the problem of the themes is undertaken — namely, the return of the Byzantinist to the Anatolian themes for re-understanding their history in the light of the four themes established in Oriens by Heraclius, *primitive* in organization as they were. In addition to replying to John Haldon on his identification of *Ajnād* with ducates, this paper will explore new dimensions of the problem which are owed to Haldon's comments, and I should therefore like to thank him for these because they have proved fruitful in writing my third and final article on the themes.

My reply to John Haldon falls into two parts. Starting with the area of agreement between the two of us, namely, that the *Ajnād* are indeed pre-Islamic Byzantine districts (4) which the Arabs inherited,

(4) In addition to what has been said in my two articles on their pre-Islamic origin, a new Arabic Medieval source may now be added to others (such as Ibn-al-Shiḥna) who were aware of the Byzantine origin of the Umayyad *Ajnād* ; see "Heraclius and the Theme System ...", *Byzantion*, LVII (1987), p. 395, n. 8. The new source, *al-Rawd al-Mi'tār*, speaks of the *Awā'il*, those who came before the Arabs in Bilād al-Shām (Oriens), as having devided the region into five districts. In so saying, the author was clearly thinking of the region after the second Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd, separated Qinnasrīn from Ḥimṣ and thus made the four *Ajnād* five. Further on in the entry on al-Shām, the author speaks of four districts, which suggests that he was aware of the original division of the region into four districts before Yazīd created the Jund

I proceed to demonstrate (I) the untenability of the view that the *Ajnād* were the pre-Heraclian Byzantine ducates ; (II) and then I raise the question : what were they if they were not ducates ?

I

Oriens, the Byzantine Diocese which became Islamic Bilād al-Shām, was divided in the proto-Byzantine period into eleven well-known provinces, Mesopotamia, Osroene, Euphratenis, the two Syrias, Arabia and the three Palestines. How these eleven provinces can be identified with the four *Ajnād*, the four large districts which Haldon concedes are pre-Islamic, is not at all clear. Although a mere look at the provincial map of the Diocese should throw this view out of court (5), a brief account of the territorial extent of each *Jund* will show that the *Jund* does not answer to the ducate.

A

1. The *Jund* of Palestine/Filasṭīn : the old ducal Palestine consisted of three provinces, I, II, and III. The new *Jund* of Palestine/Filasṭīn consisted of Palaestina I, and Palaestina III. It excluded Palaestina II entirely and joined part of the province of Arabia across the Jordan to it.
2. The *Jund* of Urdunn, Jordan : This was an entirely new province in name as well as in territorial extent (6), carved out of the former Palaestina II, the southern part of Phoenicia Maritima and the northern part of the *provincia* Arabia across the river Jordan. In shape, in territorial extent, and in geographical location it was entirely new and ran from the eastern desert to the sea, parallel to the *Jund* of Palestine to its south, as none of its constituent parts in former times had done.

of Qinnasrīn ; see Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār fi Khabar al-Aqṭār*, ed. Iḥsan 'Abbas (Beirut, 1975), *s.v.* al-Shām. This reference in *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār* was noted by Iḥsan 'Abbās in his *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām* (Amman, 1990), p. 351 where he also discussed the *Awā'il*.

(5) The two maps of Oriens which appear at the end of this article are clearer than those of my first two. The number of the provinces in Oriens were actually eleven, not ten, as in the Map in "Further Observations", p. 214. Now, Map I, shows the eleven provinces and, what is more, the trans-Euphratesian provinces, Osroene and Mesopotamia, which formed part of the large *Jund*/theme of Ḥimṣ.

(6) For some relevant observations on this *Jund*, see *ibid.*, 215-220.

3. The *Jund* of Dimashq/Damascus : Was composed mainly of the former Phoenicia Libanensis and Phoenicia Maritima. The new *Jund* which was formed out of these two provinces was different in extent from the old ones. While the former Phoenicia Libanensis counted among its main cities both Emesa and Palmyra and the districts around them, it now lost both and the area around them, that is, a large part of its northern half, to another *Jund*, that of Ḥimṣ, to the north of it, as did also Phoenicia Maritima. The loss of both Emesa and Palmyra is especially important and significant in this context. As is well known, Phoenicia was the Cis-Euphratesian province that was singled out by Justinian for some drastic military reorganization early in his reign when he added to the *dux* already established in it another one and paid special attention to the fortification of Palmyra (7). In this reorganization, Emesa and Palmyra were pivotal military stations (8) and their loss to another *Jund* in the new military look of Oriens divided by four *Ajnād*, must represent the emergence of an entirely new concept of defense, reflected in the creation of the new *Jund* — that of Dimashq/Damascus. The southern border of the new *Jund* was no longer Arabia, Palaestina I and II as before but the new *Jund* of Jordan to which it ran parallel, from the eastern desert to the Mediterranean Sea.

The description of the territorial extent of only these three *Junds* — even before coming to other features and aspects of the Jund/Ducate confrontation — should be enough to dispose of the view that the Umayyad *Ajnād* were Byzantine Ducates. However, the utter untenability of this position is most clearly reflected in the description of the last of these four *Junds* — that of Ḥimṣ.

4. The *Jund* of Ḥimṣ/Emesa : This was the largest of the four *Junds*, the territorial extent and geographical shape of which give the *coup de grâce* to the identification of *Jund* with ducate. This *Jund* now comprised not two or three former provinces of the eleven but five, namely, Syria Prima, Syria Secunda, Euphratensis, Osroene and Meso-

(7) See the relevant sections on Phoenicia in my *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (forthcoming).

(8) Stein and Jones are in agreement that Palmyra was the seat of the new *dux* of Phoenicia ; see E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (1949), II, p. 289, and A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire* ; 284-602 (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1964), I, p. 271.

potamia. It also included the northern parts of Phoenicia Libanensis and Phoenicia Maritima, and finally it included the Mesopotamian territory, ceded by the Persians to Maurice after the Peace of A.D. 591 and re-taken by Heraclius after his victory over the Persians in A.D. 628. So these Trans-Euphratesian provinces, called by the Arabs in Islamic times al-Jazīra (9), formed part of the new *Jund* of Ḥimṣ in addition to the Cis-Euphratesian provinces, the two Syrias and Euphratensis. It was later, in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (A.D. 685-705), that al-Jazīra was separated administratively from the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ (10). But when the Umayyads inherited Oriens from Byzantium, the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ was a vast military circumscription, comprising the five Byzantine provinces on both sides of the Euphrates and the northern portions of the two Phoenicias as well.

It is noteworthy that John Haldon does not refer at all to the fate of these five provinces which became the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ. He only refers to the southern provinces, the Phoenicias, Arabia, and the Palestines. In fact it was impossible for him to present the ducate/Jund identification in the case of the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ, where it is patently and demonstrably inapplicable. The *Jund* of Ḥimṣ, however, is important not only for this question but also for the problem of the Anatolian themes and a return to them in the light of the discovery of four themes in Oriens, formed by Heraclius before the Arab Muslim Conquest of Oriens.

So much then for the territorial extent, shape, and geographical location of the four *Junds* as not at all answering to the eleven provinces of Oriens.

B

Before I come to the second part of my rejection of the identification of ducate with Jund, I should like to say that the term ducate is not a technical term in the sense Haldon uses it. The *ducatus* was the function or the office of the Dux, not his territorial jurisdiction, for which the Latin term *provincia* or the Greek *eparchia* was used (11).

(9) For the boundaries of al-Jazīra, see M. CANARD, "al-Djazīra", *EI*², II, p. 523.

(10) On the separation of Jazīra from the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ, see Balāḏurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. S. Munajjid (Cairo, 1956), I, p. 156.

(11) A check on the attestations of *ducatus* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has not revealed any instance of *ducatus* in the sense of a military territorial jurisdiction and this is true of the three references in the *Codex Theodosianus* ; see *TLL*, vol. I. *s.v.*

Phoenicia Libanensis, which he cites, was not the *ducatus* of its military governor, the *dux*, but of his *provincia* or *eparchia* and so referred to in the most official documents, such as Justinian's Novel of A.D. 536 which deals with it, as two other Novels of the same year deal with Arabia and Palestine, neither of which is ever referred to as a *ducatus* but as *provincia* or *eparchia*. Besides, the provinces had also their *civil* governors in addition to the duces. Such was Phoenicia Libanensis which had not only the military *dux* but the civil governor called in the Novel *moderator* ; hence this province could not have been referred to as a ducate for this and other reasons. And this was true of the other provinces where the civil governors existed side by side with the military governors, the *duces*. Furthermore, this very province on which Haldon expatiated in his statement on the Jund/ducate identification, was only one of two Phoenicias, the other being Paralia or Maritima, run not by a *dux* but by a civil governor. The *dux* of Libanensis could come to Paralia if there was trouble that required his presence ([12]), but the province was strictly a civil province not run by a *dux* ; hence the term *ducatus* is singularly inapplicable to it. The *duces* were stationed in provinces that were close to the Oriental *limes*, which ran through the eastern desert and which extended from the Euphrates to the Gulf of Eilat. When Haldon notes that this line of provinces formed a ducal concentration, no one can take exception to what he says, but when he proceeds to say that the *Ajnād* were "nothing more nor less than the military districts of the *limitanei* of these regions", this conclusion must be rejected, since, *inter alia*, these ducal provinces ran from north to south and did not reach the Mediterranean, while the *Ajnād* ran from east to west and did reach the Mediterranean, in addition to many other features of the *Ajnād* that invalidate the identification of ducate with *Jund*.

This, then, is a serious and fundamental objection to Haldon's view. The term ducate introduced into the discussion in the sense he has used it, is non-existent. And the objection is not merely one of terminological incorrectness. It suggests an utterly false picture of the administrative structure of Oriens as run by *duces*, even in the limital provinces where these *duces* were stationed.

(12) As when the Dux in Palaestina III would rush to quell a revolt in Palaestina I such as the Revolt of the Samaritans in A.D. 529 ; MALALAS, *Chronographia*, 446.

Even if for the sake of argument one concedes the legitimacy of using the term ducate in a non-technical sense, meaning the territorial jurisdiction of the *dux*, co-terminous with the *provincia/eparchia* he was assigned to, there remains the problem of the administrative machinery which in ducate and *Jund* was startingly different. With the rise of the *Jund* system, the barriers between the civil and military provices, of "ducal" and non-ducal provinces — such as between Phoenicia Libanensis, a military province, and Phoenicia Maritima, a civil one — fell down, as they did between others, and, instead, there arose one single territorial jurisdiction, larger than the previous one. Furthermore, the number of military chiefs that ran the *Junds* was drastically reduced and does not answer to their numbers when the old provincial system obtained. The two *duces* of Phoenicia Libanensis were done away with, and in their place one military governor ran the *Jund* of Damascus. Instead of the *dux* of Palestine and its three civil governors in its three divisions I, II, and III, there appeared only one chief who ran the new *Jund* of Palestine, as one chief also ran the new *Jund* of Urdunn/Jordan. The most dramatic change, however, occurred in the *Jund* of Urdunn/Jordan. The most dramatic change, however, occurred in the *Jund* of Ḥimṣ/Emesa, where the *duces* of the five provinces were reduced to one military governor. Furthermore, the new *Jund* of Ḥimṣ was not simply a collection of the old five provinces but a new unitary military circumscription where the whole was more than the sum of its parts. The old "ducate", a province that hugged the eastern desert along the *limes*, vanished, and in its place appeared a *Jund* that hugged the shores of the Mediterranean as well as the fringes of the eastern desert, and, so the definition of ducate in Haldon's sense is simply inapplicable to the new system of *Junds*.

This then was a vast and radical change that completely transformed the provincial map of the Oriens in every important respect and it may be summed up in one significant term, *militarization*, thorough militarization of the region which reduced it from an eleven province Diocese, run by civil and military governors, into one, composed of four *Ajnād*, each run by a military governor alone ([13]).

(13) Traces of the survival of some aspects of civil government have been noted by some scholars and this was only natural since these Themes were still in a primitive stage ; hence the title, *"The Unfinished Themes of Oriens"* ; see "Further Observations", Appendix no. 1, pp. 238-239, and *infra*, section III.i.

II

If this was the provincial map of Oriens at some point in pre-Islamic times, divided into four *Junds*, and if these were not ducates, the next question or questions to be asked are : What then were these *Junds* ? Who set them up ? And on what occasions in this proto-Byzantine period in the history of Oriens ?

In the two articles published in *Byzantion*, I have given detailed arguments for the view that these were themes established by Heraclius in the *quinquennium* or so that elapsed between the victory of Nineveh in A.D. 628 and the defeat of Yarmūk in A.D. 636. I should not like to repeat myself here ; instead I should like to follow the argument along the twist given to it by John Haldon when he argued that the *Junds* were ducates. It is more fruitful to do so since this brings in its wake some new thoughts on this important problem.

The history of Oriens from the reign of Constantine to that of Heraclius is fairly well known. As far as the military picture is concerned, the large fact that explains all important changes in that map is related to the war with the secular foe — Persia — the other world power, the enmity of which Byzantium inherited from Old Rome. It is therefore in the Persian Wars of this proto-Byzantine period and in relations with that other world power that important changes in the map of Oriens have to be sought, and they are the key to answering our big question on the four *Junds*. These relations went through three major phases :

1. The first phase was that of the fourth century, when Byzantium inherited from Diocletian his reorganization of the Oriental *limes* after the war with Persia and with Palmyra. Constantine and the emperors of the fourth century inherited what might be called the *Limes Diocletianus* — the fortified Oriental frontier that extended from the Black to the Red Sea (14). The Persian Wars of Byzantium in this century were concluded by the Peace of Jovian in A.D. 363 and the major change in Oriens was related to this peace with Persia, namely, the loss of the Trans-Tigrine territories and the two strategic fortresses of Singara and Nisibis.
2. The second phase, opened by the Peace of Jovian, was a long period of peaceful relations with Persia, which lasted for almost a century

(14) On this, see the present writer in *Rome and the Arabs*, pp. 24-26, 159-161.

and a half, interrupted by two minor wars. Again, changes and adjustments were made in response to relations with Persia, mainly concerning the partition of Armenia in the north ([15]). As for the Diocese of Oriens, the peace naturally did not bring about any important changes in it, only minor administrative ones ([16]). The provincial map of Oriens in this period is reflected in the *Notitia Dignitatum* ; and by the end of this period and after the division of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, each into more than one province, Oriens in the sixth century consisted of the eleven well-known provinces.

3. The third phase opens in the sixth century when the Persian war broke out, continued through the reign of every emperor from Anastasius to Maurice, and spilled over to the reign of Phocas. Important changes in Oriens are related to this war and they took place in the two reigns that witnessed serious confrontations with Persia, those of Justinian and Maurice. In the reign of the former, the Persians effected their deepest penetration of Oriens by capturing Antioch. In the reign of the second, the King of Kings himself, fleeing from the rebel Bahrām Chūbīn, came as suppliant to Maurice.

The changes brought about by Justinian must be well known to you. In addition to the creation of the First Armenia in the northern sector and the appointment of Sittas as its first *Magister Militum*, he attended to the smaller Oriens, our Diocese, where he effected the following changes : the very heavy fortification program in four Euphratesian Provinces, and the creation of the supreme phylarchate in the southern part which unified federate Arab power, under one commander-in-chief, although each phylarch remained assigned to his province. He also paid special attention to Phoenicia Libanensis, where he added a second *dux* to the one already established there ([17]). In the reign of Maurice, after the Peace with Persia in A.D. 591,

(15) During the reigns of Valens and Theodosius I.

(16) As when Theodosius I created Phoenicia Libanensis and Theodosius II created Syria II, see MALALAS, *Chronographia*, pp. 345-365. Both may have been due to relations with Persia or to the raids of Persia's Arabs.

(17) Consonant with Haldon's desire to speak of the *ducatus* in the territorial idiom is his handling of the data on Justinian's two *duces* in Phoenicia Libanensis. In the quotation from his work cited above, he speaks of Phoenicia as "divided up into two *zones* during the sixth century" (the italics are mine), and earlier in the same sentence he spoke of the *ducatus* as *districts*. The sources that document the Justinianic reforms in Phoenicia know nothing of zones or districts but only of two *duces*.

Byzantium acquired Persarmenia, Arzanene and Iberia. As far as the Diocese of Oriens is concerned there was no major change : Daras and Martyropolis returned to Byzantine rule.

Important as these changes were, they were not drastic. They left the eleven provinces of the Diocese intact, and even the militarization process was not comprehensive. In the three Novels which Justinian issued in A.D. 536, he gave the edge to the civil governors over the military in Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine, thus promoting the interests of civil over military government in southern Oriens ([18]). By the end of this third phase, in the reign of Phocas, the map of Oriens remained composed of the eleven provinces, run by both civil and military governors.

Viewed synoptically, the examination of these three phases reveals that the military response of Byzantium in Oriens was invariably related to the stimulus that emanated from Persia, furthermore, that the rhythm of that response obeyed the principle of commensurability, that is, it was drastic when the stimulus was powerful, such as when Diocletian overhauled the whole defense system in the Orient from the Black to the Red Sea. In the three centuries that followed the reign of Diocletian there were Persian Wars. But the examination of these three phases has revealed no drastic, dramatic, reorganization comparable to that effected by Diocletian. Only the reign of Justinian witnessed changes but these were relatively minor and kept the provincial structure of Oriens intact with its eleven provinces, and even promoted in some provinces the civil government at the expense of the military.

Let us return to the four *Junds/Ajnād*, which Haldon has conceded go back to this proto-Byzantine period. There is no trace of them in the course of the centuries that witnessed the reigns of these emperors from Constantine to Phocas. If the creation of these four large military circumscriptions is not accountable by reference to any of these reigns, then that of Heraclius is the only one left, the one that must have witnessed these changes. It provides the perfect historical context for understanding these dramatic changes in the map of Oriens, which consisted in nothing less than the elimination of eleven provinces and

(18) For an analysis of the two novels on Arabia and Palestine and the Edict on Phoenicia, see the present writer in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (forthcoming).

the creation of four only, conceived along entirely new strategic lines. This response is explicable only by the events of the reign — the Persian stimulus and the principle of commensurability ; it was in this reign that the Persian War reached gigantic proportions — when Persia occupied the whole of Oriens and Egypt for some fifteen years and laid siege to Constantinople itself after overrunning the Byzantine heartland, Anatolia. And it is impossible to believe that the principle of Byzantine response to Persian stimulus was inoperative only in this reign and, what is more, the very reign that witnessed not only this life and death struggle but also a war waged by a treacherous King of Kings, whose very life and throne had been saved for him by Byzantium in A.D. 591. This is confirmed by two further considerations related to the Persian stimulus. (1) It was Oriens, not Anatolia that was long occupied by the Persians, hence *complete* militarization was brought about where it was most needed, not in Analolia but in Oriens ; (2) the curiously shaped and positioned four provinces running parallel to one another, from the east to the west, clearly suggest a system of defense against an invader from the north or northeast and this could only have been the Persians, who in fact had invaded the region and occupied it in A.D. 614.

We are left with a final question : If these four large military provinces were not ducates, what were they ? Three considerations point to the fact they were none other than those associated with the emperor Heraclius, namely, themes. Those developed later in Anatolia had the following characteristics ; they were large, they were military, and their administration involved *stratiōtika ktēmata*. The first two apply to these four *Ajnād* and possibly the third but the paucity of the sources preclude speaking definitively on it (19). The name itself *Jund*, however, is decisive. Applied in the vast Arab empire, which extended from India to Spain, only to these four military circumscriptions, the ex-Byzantine provinces of Oriens, and unintelligible as a term in the lexicology of Arabic, as meaning at one and the same time the army corps and the military circumscription, Jund unmistakably points to its provenance in the administrative terminology of Byzantium — to the newly coined technical term *thema* or *stratos* which signified exactly that. The conclusion then is inevitable that it was a translation of

(19) See "Further Observations", Appendix II, p. 242, and *infra*, section III.i.

that Byzantine term into Arabic, and that the Arabs inherited from Byzantium both the term and what the term stood for.

Compared to the Persian War of Heraclius' reign, those of the sixth century seem like frontier skirmishes. But they did find an historian, Procopius, who devoted two books of his *Wars* to those of Justinian's reign, while this one fought in the reign of Heraclius found none (20). Only a few pages are devoted to it in later chronographies. The history of Oriens in the few years that elapsed between the battle of Nineveh in A.D. 628 and that of Yarmūk in A.D. 636 is almost a complete blank ; hence record of what happened in it during this period is non-existent in the Byzantine sources, but fortunately it can be recovered from the Arabic sources and the facts of Arab history in Oriens, now Islamic/Umayyad Bilād al-Shām. The conclusions that may be drawn on the Umayyad *Ajnād* are therefore a precious gift to both Islamicist and Byzantinist alike. Before it became Umayyad Bilād al-Shām for a century or even less, Oriens had been a Byzantine province for some three centuries ; it is therefore a veritable oasis for those who wish to pursue the study of *Byzance après Byzance* in the land of the Islamic Caliphate. The *Ajnād* are only one among many facets that Umayyad Bilād al-Shām presents to the students of this region in this period.

III

Revisiting the unfinished themes of Oriens in this present article, made possible by John Haldon's challenging remarks, calls for a return to some of the problem touched upon in the first two and for making some general remarks on the Themes in the context of this debate on their origin. (i) As the title of this article indicates, these themes in Oriens were still in a primitive form, hence the term "Unfinished" (21) used in the title. This is a basic point which sould be kept in mind in discussing them and it leads to a discussion of one feature of the

(20) Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi ; sed omnes inlacrimabiles
urgentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro. Horace, *Odes*, IV.9.

(21) I should even like to use the German term *Urthemen*, coined by J. Koder in his recent article, despite the fact that we hold different views on the themes ; see J. Koder, "Zur Bedeutungsentwicklung des byzantinischen Terminus *Thema*" *JÖB*, 40 (1990), pp. 155-165 : for the term *Urthemen*, see p. 162.

theme system in its developed from that has been difficult to assess, namely, the *stratiōtika ktēmata* (22), one of the most important features of the theme system, which has figured prominently in the debate among Byzantinists, especially since Ostrogorsky raised it.

It is possible that the grant of "military lands" to the soldiers stationed in each theme/*Jund* was made in Oriens and a statement in Balāḏurī could give a hint in support of this view when he said that "Barbalissus (Balis) and Qasirin belonged to two noble brothers who were given the villages that were near these two towns as grants and who were made guardians over what lay between them of the cities of the Romans in al-Shām-Oriens" (23). However, there is no trace in the Arabic sources of the grant of "military lands" to the Arab troops who now occupied these *Junds* in the early Islamic period. But this should, of course, cause no surprise nor argue against the existence of the system of land grants in the *quinquennium*, before the Byzantine Themes in Oriens became the Arab *Junds* of early Islamic times. This was consonant with the character of the Muslim Arab troops whose Caliph, Omar, was called *Amīr al-mu'minīn*, "The Commander of the Faithful" and who were engaged not in a raid, *ghazw* against Byzantium but in a form of *Jihād*. His clear and express order on this point which forbade the soldiers from engaging in agriculture has survived in the sources (24). Instead of the inalienable grants of land, the new Arab Muslim troops were paid in cash — the *a'ṭiyāt*. Thus these *a'ṭiyāt* which the troops received instead of the *stratiōtika ktēmata* should not argue against the existence of the theme system in Byzantine Oriens or the practice of the grant of "military lands", since such an argument would ignore the large fact of adaptation in the process of institutional assimilation (25). The caliph Omar must have thought that the grant of lands would have turned the soldiers of Islam from Mujahidūn into agriculturists — a new breed of Nabaṭ — hardly the seasoned troops Omar

(22) The problem of the *stratiōtika ktēmata* was touched upon in an Appendix to "Further Observations" (p. 242) but owing to its importance, it deserves to be restated in this article with further thoughts.

(23) See Balāḏuri, *Liber Expugnationis Regionumm*, ed. de Goeje (Reprint Leiden, 1968), p. 150.

(24) See Ibn-'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Saladin al-Munajjid, (Damascus, 1954), 2/i : p. 95.

(25) The problem posed by the *a'ṭiyāt* was raised by I. 'Abbas, in *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām*, (Amman, 1990), pp. 343-344.

wanted for the defence of the newly and hard won Bilād al-Shām or as an instrument of conquest in prospective wars against Byzantium. Furthermore, there are those scholars who have rejected the *stratiōtika ktēmata* as a feature of the Theme system even when that system was fully developed later in Anatolia (26). In denying this relationship that was supposed to obtain between the two, they raised a fundamental objection to the relevance of the *stratiōtika ktēmata* to the discussion of even the unfinished themes of Oriens.

(ii) The term *θέμα* itself needs to be discussed, however briefly, in view of the argument for the existence of the theme system in Oriens and the revival of interest in the term through an article that has appeared recently, exclusively devoted to it (27).

I am more than inclined to accept Fr. Dölger's well-known view that the term *θέμα* derived from the verb *τίθημι* and was applied to the army of Oriens after the Arab Conquest when that army was moved and stationed in Asia Minor (28). The name of one of the early themes, Anatolikon, points in that direction — to the transfer of troops from Oriens and their stationing in that district. The application of the term to the army is more natural than to the district, and its application to the latter is likely to have been a later stage in the semantic journey of the term (29). Perhaps it is not too difficult to trace the derivation of *θέμα* from *τίθημι* in this process of moving from Oriens to Asia Minor. The army that was transferred and stationed there was called *ὁ τεθεὶς στρατός* ; then *στρατός* was dropped and only the aorist passive participle was retained and used as a substantive ; but the equivalent *θέμα* must have been preferred as the shorter and the phonetically more convenient (30).

(26) See P. LEMERLE, "Esquisse pour un histoire agraire de Byzance", *RH*, 219(1958), pp. 32-74, and again in the next issue of *RH*, 220, (1958), pp. 42-94.

(27) J. KODER, *op. cit.*

(28) F. DÖLGER, "Zur Ableitung des byzantinischen Verwaltungsterminus" *Historia*, 4(1955), pp. 189-198.

(29) *Στρατόπεδον* presents a parallel since it can mean both "the encamped army" and "the camp".

(30) Arabic *nawāqil*, plural of *nāqila*, the tribe that transferred (*naqalat*) its genealogical descent and affiliated itself to another tribe, may be instanced as a parallel. In this case, *nāqila* is the active participle, which became a substantive, denoting such a tribe. On the *nawāqil*, see the present writer in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1989), p. 234, with reference to a more extensive treatment of the *nawāqil* in the work of Werner Caskel.

The argument for the thematization of Oriens after the Persian evacuation provides a new context for the discussion of the term, along the lines suggested by Dölger, but only one or two observations are possible in view of the silence of the Greek sources on the Oriental themes. Naturally, they can be only speculative :

(a) The Arabic term *Jund* suggests that it was the translation of *exercitus*, στρατός or στράτευμα rather than θέμα. It is the more natural translation of any one of these three terms, which may have been used in Oriens for the new military system. And this is consonant with Dölger's view that the term θέμα started to be used *after* the evacuation of Oriens by the Byzantines and the transfer of the army to Anatolia. He, however, wrote before the argument for the thematization or Oriens was advanced and so his views on the appearance of θέμα as a technical term have now to be set against the new background — an Oriens that was already Thematized but where the term for the new system was not yet θέμα but *exercitus* or στρατός. It was the *transference* of the army from Oriens to Anatolia that caused the appearance of θέμα.

(b) It is possible that the new term θέμα was applied to the army that was stationed in Anatolikon rather than to the one stationed in Armeniakon. The latter was created out of the command of the Justinianic *Magister Militum per Armeniam* and its transference was a matter of adjustment and partial withdrawal from the part of Armenia occupied by the Muslim Arabs, Armenia III. It was in *Anatolikon* that the process of transference and stationing in a new district far removed from Oriens was drastic ; hence the application of the term to it, deriving from the verb that expresses/stationing, placing, namely, τίθημι. How early it was applied or acquired enough currency to displace στρατός is not clear and it may have existed side by side with it. As late as A.D. 687 *exercitus* appears in the *Jussio* of Justinian II, sent to Pope Conon, and so apparently by that date θέμα had not yet replaced στρατός. (iii) Even more important than the discussion of the term is the problem of the Anatolian themes and their relation to those in Oriens. This is more the concern of scholars who deal with Anatolia, especially those who share with Ostrogorsky his conclusions on the Heraclian origin of the Anatolian themes ([31]). But a few ob-

(31) His fundamental article appeared in this Journal in the early fifities ; see G. Ostrogorsky, "Sur la date de la composition du Livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers Thèmes d'Asie Mineure", *Byzantion*, 23, (1953), pp. 31-

servations could be made which might be of some use to those in Ostrogorsky's camp who wish to pursue this topic along the lines he suggested for the rise of the Anatolian themes.

(a) The discussion of the themes in the two regions, Oriens and Anatolia, must be interlocked, indeed cannot but be interlocked. Oriens was more exposed to the Persian menace than Anatolia and in the Persian war of the period it suffered more ; hence its complete thematization by Heraclius, involving all of its eleven provinces. But Anatolia suffered, too, and it was the Byzantine heartland ; so some thematization must have taken place in it and it is generally agreed, at least by one group of Byzantinists, that the two Themes Armeniakon and Anatolikon were among the earliest to be formed.

As is well known, Ostrogorsky argued that the first themes of Anatolia were formed not after the Arab conquest of Oriens but *during* and *immediately* after the Persian War of Heraclius' reign, in much the same way that I have argued for the Thematization of Oriens after the Persian evacuation and *before* the Arab conquest. He, however, limited thematization to Anatolia excluding Oriens. The subsequent loss of Oriens to the Arabs and the silence of the Greek sources on what happened in it in this period must have deflected Ostrogorsky's interest from Oriens and made him concentrate on Anatolia ([32]). But Oriens in the *quinquennium* A.D. 629-634 was still Byzantine territory and I have argued in these articles that it experienced a complete thematization, thus answering the questions that might have been raised by Ostrogorsky. If he were alive today, he would be the first to welcome this bright light shed on the entire problem of the origin of the themes by the uncovering of the data for the thematization of Oriens.

(b) The most relevant of the four themes/*Junds* of Oriens to the discussion of the Anatolian is the theme/*Jund* of Ḥimṣ. This was the

66. For a summary of his views on the Theme system together with bibliographical orientation on the controversy that his views started, especially involving A. PERTUSI and P. LEMERLE, see his *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. HUSSEY (Blackwell, Oxford, 1968), pp. 97-98.

(32) In addition to the difficulty of extracting the relevant data from sources such as the Arabic, the language of which was outside his expertise, there was the fact that Ostrogorsky's main interest was the Middle Byzantine period and the Balkan Anatolian area, not the Proto-Byzantine period nor Oriens. This is also clearly reflected in the number of pages he allocated to the latter in his *History of the Byzantine State*, some sixty pages (pp. 27-86) out of a book that numbered more than six hundred.

largest of the four Oriental themes, and, what is more, comprised both Cis-Euphratesian and the Trans-Euphratesian provinces in Oriens. Consequently it was the most important of the four themes because it was the first in the four lines of defence protecting Oriens against a potential Persian attack from the north and north east. What is relevant in this context is the fact that not only did it protect Cis-Euphratesian Oriens but also, because of its Trans-Euphratesian portion, was a shield for Anatolia — south eastern Anatolia. So it had a double function, hence its large size and curious shape. Thus, that portion of the Jund of Ḥimṣ/Emesa may then be considered militarily a first line of defence for Anatolia, althought geographically it was not part of it (33).

(c) What was part of Anatolia geographically was Armeniakon, considered one of the earliest themes to be formed in Anatolia (34). The rise of the theme of Emesa, its neighbour to the south, in the *quinquennium* simplifies considerably understanding its origin and gives credence to the scattered references to it as an early theme. Its formation did not require much reorganization since that had already been done by Justinian in that region and the new command had been given to Sittas, as the first *Magister Militum per Armeniam*. During and after the Persian War, Heraclius enhanced the militarization of the region and created Armeniakon in consonance with the prevalent mood to militarize the Empire. Armeniakon later contracted, with the loss of portions of it to the Muslim Arabs, namely, Armenia III. Thus the references to it as an early theme have to be accepted, not only the certain reference to its *strategos* in A.D. 677 but also references to the theme itself in Balāḏurī as early as the 620s. When Walter Kaegi drew the attention of the learned world to the important data in Balāḏurī on Armeniakon, he did so before the Oriental themes had

(33) See Map III which shows the Jund/theme of Ḥimṣ after the Persian evacuation of Oriens, comprising the five provinces : Cis-Euphratesian Euphratensis and the two Syrias, and Trans-Euphratesian Mesopotamia and Osroene. It was actually even larger since the portions of the two Phoenicias that were attached to it and the territory Maurice recovered from the Persians in the Peace of A.D. 591 are not shown. But even as it is, the map presents the Jund in its double function as a bulwark for both Oriens and Anatolia and should be helpful to students of the Anatolian Themes when they re-examine the history of the two Themes closest to it, namely, Armeniakon and Anatolikon.

(34) For a convenient succinct recent summation of the facts about the two themes, Armaniakon and Anatolikon, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. I, *s.vv.*

been discussed, but now the views that were presented in his article with reservations may be approached with greater confidence in the historicity of Balāḏurī's account (35). Eastern Anatolia without Armeniakon would still have been exposed to Persian attacks since the theme of Emesa/Ḥimṣ protected only one segment of the eastern Anatolian frontier. Armeniakon filled the gap, which extended to the Black Sea.

(d) The theme Anatolikon, also considered one of the earliest of the Anatolian themes, is even more closely related to the themes of Oriens than Armeniakon. As its name indicates, it was the military district where the troops, transferred from Oriens to Anatolia, were stationed after the Arab Conquest of the region. So chronologically it must have been formed after Armeniakon and its geographical location speaks for itself. With the fall of Oriens to the Arabs, Anatolia lost its first line of defence, namely, the theme of Emesa/Ḥimṣ, and Armeniakon, which lay behind the Mesopotamian part of the theme of Emesa, became for Anatolia its first line of defence. A second line of defence behind Armeniakon and to its west was formed, wherein were stationed the troops withdrawn from Oriens, perhaps on the analogy of the defence in depth adopted in Oriens with its four lines of defence, one parallel to the other, in order to wear down a future invader. Thus a second phase of the thematization of Anatolia may be said to have begun after the Arab Conquest of Oriens, which finally ended in the thematization of the whole of that region.

IV

For those who conceive of the reign of Heraclius and the seventh century as the watershed that represents the transition from the world of Late Antiquity to that of Medieval Byzantium, this article and the two preceding ones on the Oriental themes contribute a new element that makes this reign truly a watershed. The change in the imperial titulature into *πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς* was another (36) and the

(35) See W. J. Kaegi, "Al-Balâdhuri and the Armeniak Theme", *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), pp. 273-277.

(36) See the present writer in "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius", *DOP*, 26(1972), 293-320 ; *ibid*, Nos. 34-35(1980), pp. 225-237 ; and his review of *"Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity"*, ed. F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, III (1991), pp. 397-398.

emergence of Greek as the language of the empire was an important third. But the problem of the themes remains the central one and the support given to Ostrogorsky's position in these three articles tips the scales in favor of the position that the reign represents a break and a rupture with, rather than a continuation of, Late Antiquity.

As this article has shown, Heraclius established the new themes, which were not the perpetuation of fictional and non-existent ducates but were a break with the old system that had failed to protect Oriens and Anatolia. In the long perspective of three centuries of Late Roman History, Heraclius' military reforms undid the work of Diocletian who separated civil from military authority and diminished the size of the provinces. To be sure, some features of the old system of Late Antiquity that had obtained for some three centuries did not immediately vanish and could not possibly have done so in this short period, which, furthermore, was a tumultuous reign, filled with distracting continuous wars during its entire duration and gigantic ones at that. These elements of the persistent Late Antique substrate have been ably identified and assembled by Walter Kaegi in a series of well-known articles ([37]). But they are all maters of detail which do not affect the significance of the far-reaching changes and transformations that were effected in this reign.

To what has already been mentioned may be added an event of major historical importance that has escaped the attention of students of this reign and advocates of its crucial and central place in the process of transition from the Late Antique period to the Medieval Byzantine. Historians are aware that the reign witnessed the fateful encounter at the banks of the Yarmūk in A.D. 636 and the loss of Oriens and Egypt, which prepared the way for the loss of half of the Mediterranean basin. But they do not take into account that the same reign also witnessed the decisive battle of al-Qādisiyya, fought only one year after the battle of Yarmūk, and even more decisive, since it broke the power of Sassanid Persia and delivered the entire Persian empire in the hands of the Arabs and Islam, giving the new adversary a vast dominion whence it could and did with vast resources prosecute the war from the south and

(37) Such as "Notes on Hagiographic Sources for Some Institutional Changes and Continuities in the Early Seventh Century", *"Byzantina"*, 7(1975), pp. 58-70, and "Two Studies in the Continuity of Late Roman and Byzantine Military Institutions", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 8(1982), pp. 87-113.

from the east against Anatolia. These were truly world-shaking events that took place in the last years of the reign and completely changed the political and military landscape of the world and its military dynamics, ushering in a long, arduous, tragic and unrelieved period of continual warfare which lasted until the fall of Constantinople to the arms of Islam in A.D. 1453. This long historical process can with certainty be traced back to the last decade of Heraclius' reign ([38]). Consequently, break, rupture, and dislocation are the appropriate words to use when describing the reign of Heraclius, both internally and externally, and this clinches the point of its centrality in the process of change and transformation from Late Antiquity to the Medieval Byzantine period.

The Ducal Rainbow

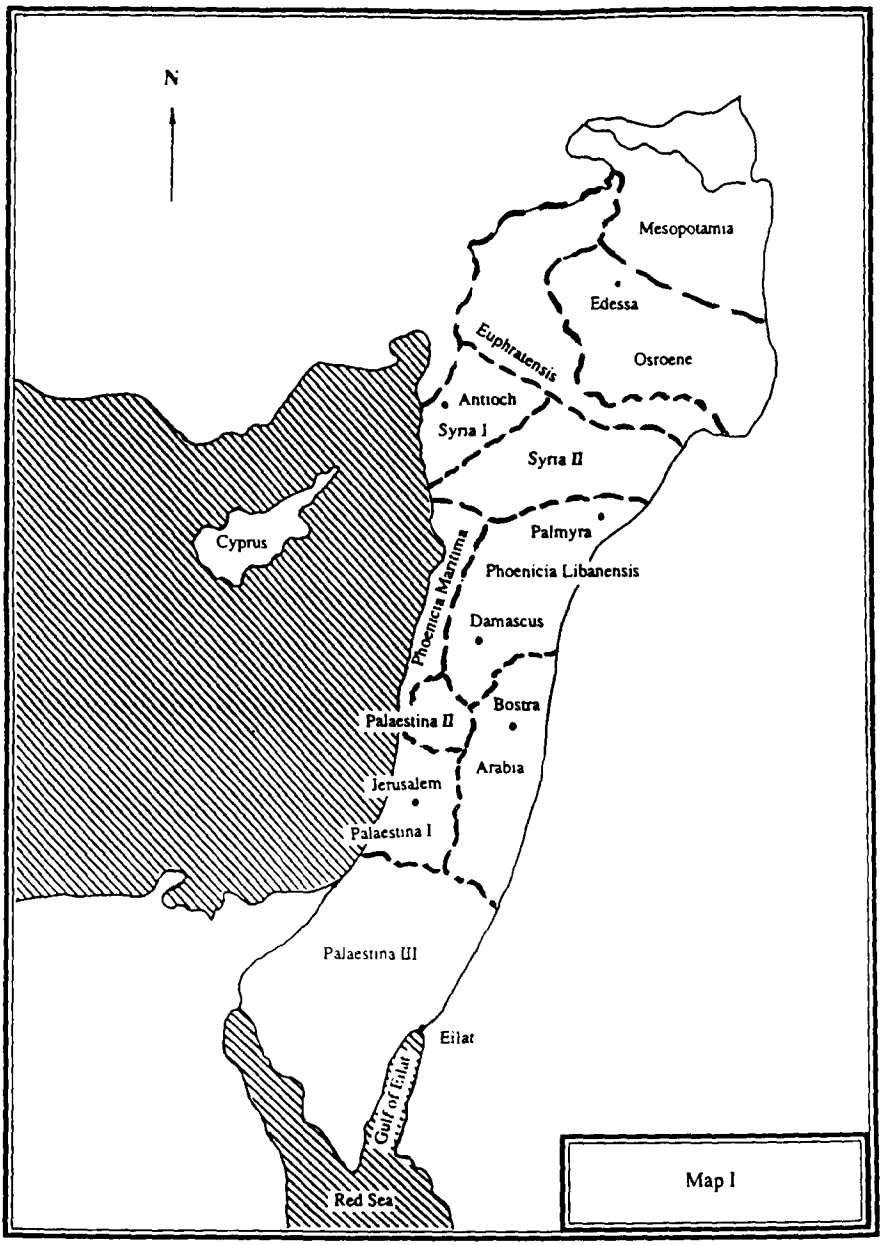
In this debate on change and transformation from one historical era to another and on the origin of the themes, John Haldon has been both a "continuator" and a "gradualist" respectively ; indeed he has been one of the most dedicated apostles of both continuity and gradualism, having invested much time, energy, and ink on preaching their gospel. It is only natural, therefore, that he should have been unreceptive to the views expressed in my two previous articles on the Heraclian origin of the Theme system in Oriens, but his commitment to continuity and gradualism has not been the only reason behind his unreceptive mood towards the Oriental Themes. He has spent most of his time dealing with the Middle Byzantine period ([39]) and with the Anatolian region, not with the Proto-Byzantine period and Oriens, the period and the region which have been my main concern. I had

(38) 'Amr ibn-al-'Aṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, began its invasion in December, A.D. 639 and won the battle of Heliopolis against the Byzantine army as early as A.D. 640. By A.D. 642 he had overrun the whole of Egypt, after the capture of Babylon and Alexandria. So the last years of Heraclius' reign witnessed the loss of Oriens and also of Egypt, the latter becoming the base for the future conquest of the whole of North Africa.

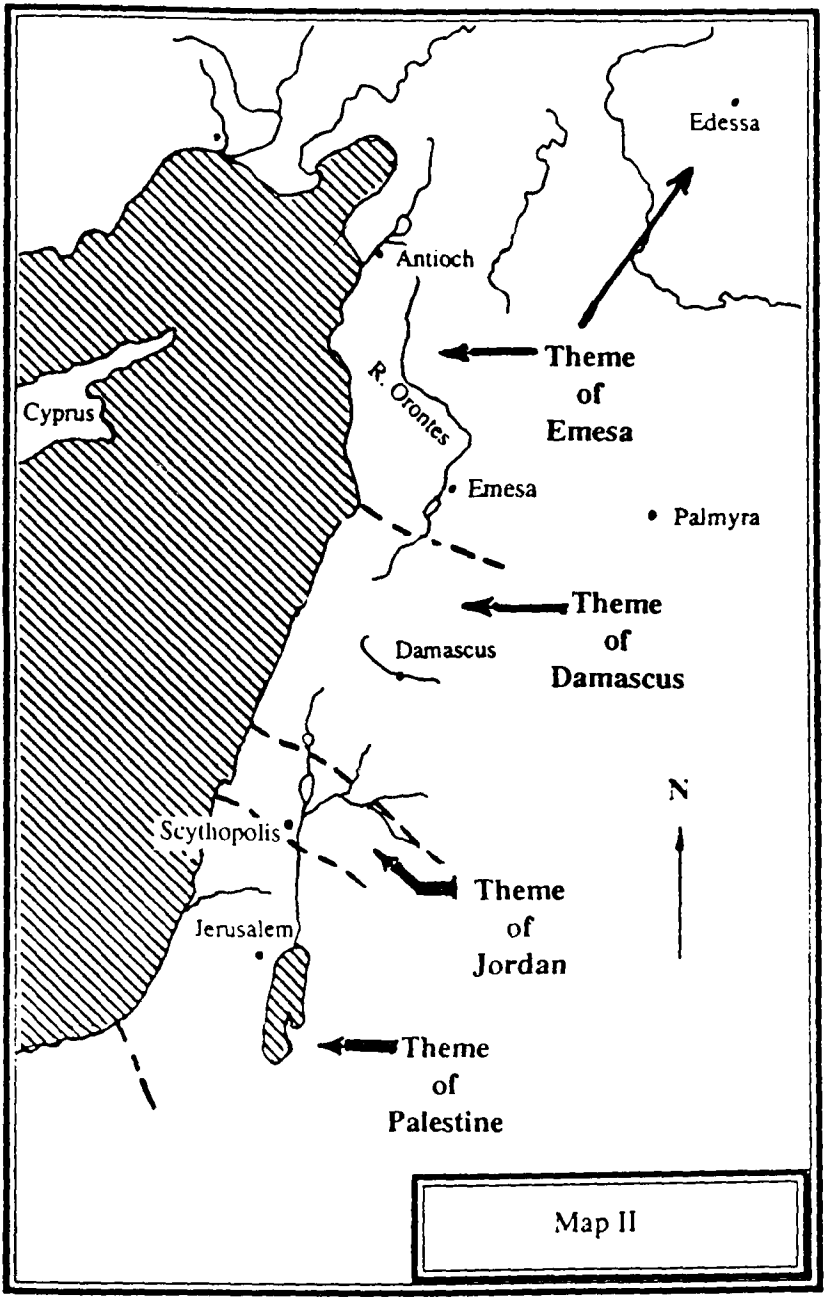
(39) It occurs to me as I reflect on Haldon's involvement in the Middle Byzantine period that his may have misled him into conceiving of the ducate as the territorial jurisdiction of the *dux*. As has been indicated in the course of this article, this was never the case in the Proto-Byzantine period ; but in the Middle, from the second half of the tenth century, the *Doukaton* sometimes signified the large district of the military commander, who was then referred to by the newly revived Latin term *δούξ*, *dux*.

hoped that he would see our respective works as complementary to each other, even if this entailed his retreat from certain positions that he, for so long, has held and, what is more, that are in print. I, therefore, wish that he will from now on approach the problem of the themes with an open mind and give up this exercise in futility, namely, chasing the ducal rainbow. And I cannot think of a more fruitful employment of his time and talents than re-opening the whole problem of the Anatolian Themes in the light that has been shed on the Oriental by this article and the two previous ones.

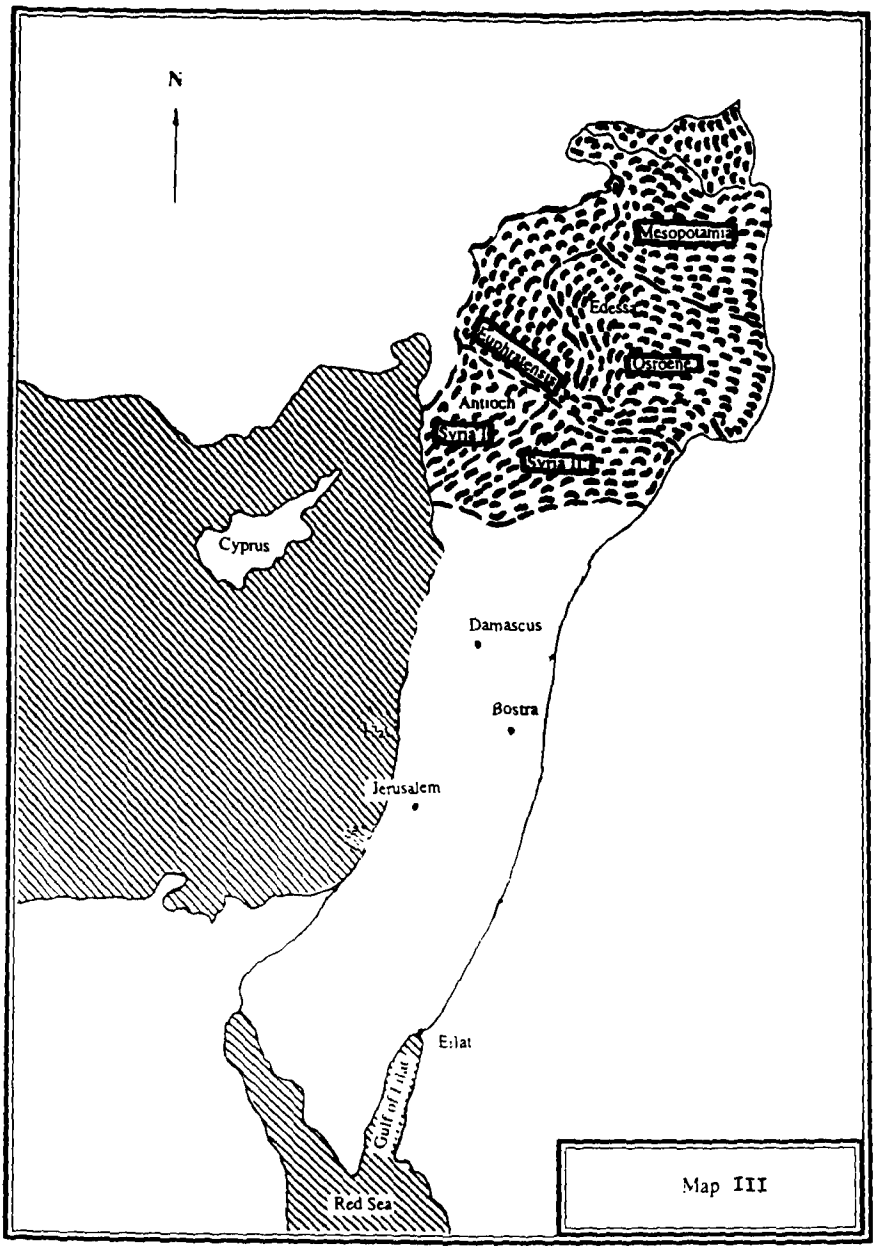
Georgetown University/Dumbarton Oaks. Irfan SHAHÎD.



Byzantine Oriens before the Persian Conquest.
The Eleven Provinces.



Byzantine Oriens after the Persian Evacuation.
The Four Themes.



Byzantine Oriens after the Persian Evacuation.
The *Jund*/Theme of Ḥimṣ/Emesa.

UNE VIERGE DE DAPHNÉ
NOTES SUR UN THÈME APOCALYPTIQUE (1)

Les études consacrées à la littérature apocalyptique d'époque byzantine et à son "tréfonds oriental" ont connu un véritable renouveau au cours de ces dernières années. Le phénomène est heureux, en effet, le sujet mérite largement ce regain d'intérêt. Non seulement cette littérature met en évidence les sentiments de certains milieux face aux grands événements historiques de l'époque (p. ex. les conquêtes musulmanes), mais encore elle constitue un véritable trésor de curiosités littéraires et théologiques. Les pages qui suivent, visent à élucider quelques détails obscurs d'une tradition fort curieuse concernant l'origine et la naissance de l'Antéchrist, tradition qui témoigne de l'esprit astucieux d'un auteur savant.

Le *Dialogue entre le Christ et le diable* (ci-dessous : *Dialogue*), réédité en 1955 par R. P. Casey et R. W. Thomson, n'est pas une apocalypse proprement dite (2). Ce petit apocryphe, dont nous connaissons deux recensions grecques (A et B, selon les sigles de Casey et Thomson) et deux versions slaves, présente un développement assez singulier de l'épisode biblique de la tentation du Christ dans le désert (*Mt.* 4 : 1-11, parr.). En voici les éléments principaux, selon A : une altercation entre le Christ et le diable, considérant surtout la nature du diable et le sort des pécheurs (§ 1-2) ; une lutte véhémente entre les deux, qui s'achève par la soumission du diable (§ 3-4) ; une autre altercation, où le diable menace le Christ (§ 5) ; enfin, Jésus enferme le diable dans les profon-

(1) Version retouchée d'une contribution au recueil commémoratif *PULP : Studies Pollock*, Leyde 1991, édition privée à tirage limité. Je tiens à remercier Mme Françoise Torterat pour ses conseils en matière de langue française.

(2) R. P. Casey/R. W. Thomson, 'A dialogue between Christ and the devil', *Journal of Theological Studies* (N.S.) 6 (1955), pp. 49-65 ; index des mots : A. Fuchs, *Konkordanz zu Gespräch Jesu mit dem Teufel : Version A und B*, Die griechische Apokryphen zum Neuen Testament 4, Linz 1983 ; l'*editio princeps* était due à A. Vasiliev (Moscou 1893) ; un ms. de Jérusalem (St. Sépulcre) contient, probablement, une version inédite du même *Dialogue*, cf. Casey/Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

deurs de la terre et lui prédit sa défaite finale (§ 6). Ce n'est que cette dernière partie, la prédiction par Jésus de la fin du diable, qui prend le caractère d'une brève apocalypse. Selon la version B, qui est ici la plus complète, le diable, enfermé dans les profondeurs, sera tourmenté nuit et jour par 24 anges, jusqu'à la consommation des siècles. Jésus poursuit :

> «mais après la consommation des siècles, tu (c.-à-d. le diable) dois sortir et aller vers la ville de Daphné dans le pays de Gouzè, vendu sous la forme d'un poisson. Une jeune fille vierge te concevra. Son nom sera Eudokia, parce que c'est de l'injustice (*ἀδικία*) que tu dois être né. D'elle tu seras né en enfant de trois mois et tu établiras ton trône sur la terre et tu régneras pendant trois ans» (CASEY/THOMSON, p. 54-55, l. 49-53).

Suit le tableau, en termes assez traditionnels, de la défaite finale du diable.

La version A réduit le même récit à quelques mots seulement et fait du pays de Gouzè non pas le lieu de la renaissance du diable, mais celui de sa défaite :

> «après, tu dois venir et tu dois [régner] pendant trois ans et beaucoup de gens croiront en toi ... Ensuite, tu dois venir vers le pays dit Gouzè, une contrée des Égyptiens» (CASEY/THOMSON, p. 53, l. 98-99 et 103-04). C'est là que le diable sera finalement tué.

Le joli petit récit de la vierge Eudokia et du poisson diabolique a assez embarrassé ses éditeurs (CASEY/THOMSON, p. 63). Heureusement, K. Berger a réédité en 1976 une apocalypse grecque du IXe siècle, mise dans la bouche du prophète Daniel (3). A la partie 'historique' de cet écrit (ci-dessous : *Apocalypse*) fait suite une partie eschatologique, composée de matériaux traditionnels (4). Cette partie 'mythologique' fournit une variante intéressante à notre petit récit :

> «Pendant le règne de Dan, l'Antéchrist sortira des souterrains de l'abîme par les gouffres et les profondeurs de la terre. Et il revêtira la forme d'un petit poisson-*ψυρίδιον* (var. : et il entrera dans un petit poisson-

(3) K. BERGER, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese : eine altkirchliche Apokalypse*, Studia Postbiblica 27, Leyde 1976 ; *ed. princeps* due à V. Istrine (Moscou 1897). Cf. G. T. ZERVOS, 'Apocalypse of Daniel', dans : J. H. CHARLESWORTH, éd., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, t. 1, Londres 1983, pp. 755-770 ; M. van Esbroeck, dans son compte rendu de l'ouvrage de K. Berger, *Analecta Bollandiana* 95 (1977), pp. 192-193, rejette la datation proposée par celui-ci.

(4) BERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ss. ; ZERVOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 756-57.

> *γαρίδιον*). Et il gagnera la pleine mer. Et il croîtra et sera pêché par douze pêcheurs. Et les pêcheurs s'irriteront les uns contre les autres. Et l'un d'eux qui s'appelle Judas dominera les autres. Et, ayant pris possession du poisson, il se rendra à un lieu du nom de Gouzèth et vendra le poisson pour trente pièces d'argent. Et le poisson sera acheté par une jeune fille vierge. Son nom sera *'Αδικία* (Injustice), parce que le fils de l'injustice (*ἀδικία*) doit être né d'elle. Son surnom sera *'Απώλεια* (Perdition). Car elle, ayant cuit (var. : ayant touché à) la tête du poisson, se sera trouvée enceinte. Et l'Antéchrist sera né d'elle. Il sera né en enfant de trois mois. Et il sera allaité par elle pendant cinq (var. : quatre) mois. Et il se rendra à Jérusalem et deviendra pédagogue. Il se montrera calme et humble, plein de bienveillance et sans malice, sévère à l'égard des iniquités» (11 : 1-16 ; BERGER, p. 15). Suit la description de son aspect qui ne nous intéresse pas ici.

Outre cette version longue, il en existe une autre, très abrégée (V), où l'on ne trouve que ces quelques phrases :

> «Pendant le règne de Dan, l'Antéchrist sortira d'une vierge impure. Et il deviendra comme un enfant qui enseigne des iniquités (*sic*). Et il sera plein de bienveillance (etc.)» (l. 37-39 ; BERGER, p. 25).

Ce qui saute aux yeux dans cette légende de la naissance de l'Antéchrist, c'est qu'elle constitue un travestissement ingénieux de la biographie du Christ lui-même. Le procédé dont se sert l'auteur est celui d'un parallélisme négatif suivi, de ce que Berger appelle «spiegelbildliche Verkehrung» (5). Bien qu'on admire l'ingéniosité de l'auteur ancien, l'idée sous-jacente n'est pas unique. La tendance à interpréter la venue de l'Antéchrist comme l'incarnation du diable, parallèlement à l'incarnation du Christ, remonte au deuxième siècle, tout au moins (6). Plus tard, ce parallélisme a été formellement rejeté par Jean de Damas (7). Au xe siècle, le moine Adso se voit encore obligé de défendre le point de vue que l'Antéchrist serait né de l'union normale d'un père et d'une

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

(6) W. BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, Göttingen, 1895, 89 ss. ; du même genre, mais plus ancienne encore, serait l'opposition 'mère du Messie' — 'mère du serpent' dans l'un des hymnes de Qumrân, cf. M. DELCOR, *Les Hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot)*, Paris, 1962, pp. 117-124 ; E.-M. LAPERROUSAZ, 'La mère du Messie et la mère de l'aspic dans les «hymnes» de Qumrân : quelques remarques sur la structure de «1QH» III, 1-18', dans : *Mélanges H.-Ch. Puech*, Paris, 1974, pp. 173-185.

(7) *De fide orthodoxa* 99 (IV 26 ; éd. B. KOTTER, *PTS* 12, p. 233, 31 ss.).

mère, non pas d'une seule vierge (8). C'est précisément cette naissance *de sola virgine* qui est au centre de notre récit. K. Berger a dit l'essentiel sur l'image du poisson dans son commentaire sur l'*Apocalypse* (9). Il a notamment relevé le témoignage capital de l'inscription d'Abercios, dans laquelle la nourriture eucharistique est identifiée au «poisson de la source, tout à fait grand et pur, qu'a saisi une vierge pure», qui est le Christ (10). Dans le récit de l'Antéchrist, l'antithèse intentionnelle est évidente : ici, le poisson est grand, sorti d'une source, pêché par une vierge pure ; là, le poisson est petit, sorti de la mer, acheté (contre trente pièces d'argent !) par une vierge impure à un pêcheur qui s'appelle Judas. Les arguments de Berger sont concluants et il est inutile de les réitérer ici. Mieux vaut attirer l'attention sur quelques aspects du récit jusqu'à présent mal expliqués ou tout à fait négligés. Parmi de tels détails, il y en a deux qui sont passés sous silence par Berger : la nature du poisson dont le diable prend la forme et la durée de la gestation de l'Antéchrist.

Le *Dialogue* ne spécifie pas le poisson qui produit la grossesse miraculeuse de la mère de l'Antéchrist (11). La tradition manuscrite de l'*Apocalypse*, au contraire, nous a conservé deux versions de son nom : *μυρίδιον* et *γαρίδιον*. Bien qu'on ne retrouve pas ailleurs la forme exacte de ces deux noms, il n'est guère douteux que ceux-ci sont respectivement les diminutifs des noms de poissons *μῦρος (σμῦρος)* et *γάρος* (12). Le *μῦρος* est le mâle de la murène, un poisson anguiforme et féroce, impur d'après les lois judaïques (13). Selon les anciens, les murènes

(8) *De antichristo* (éd. D. VERHELST, *Corpus Christ., Cont. Med.* 45, p. 23, 24-26).

(9) *Op. cit.*, pp. 104-114.

(10) BERGER, *Daniel-Diegese*, p. 104 ss. ; H. STRATHMANN/Th. KLAUSER, art. 'Aberkios', dans : *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, t. 1 (1950), col. 12-17, donnent le texte et toutes les références utiles. L'inscription est copiée dans la *Vita* d'Abercios qui daterait de la fin du IVe siècle, ce qui fournit un premier *terminus post quem* pour notre récit (voir ci-dessous).

(11) Il n'y a que : 'un poisson', *ὀψάριον* ; sur ce mot : H. EIDENEIER, *Sogenannte christliche Tabuwörter im Griechischen*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 5, Munich 1966, pp. 85-103.

(12) Pour la dérivation de *μυρίδιον* il y a une analogie : *μυρίδιον*, diminutif de *μύρον*, 'huile', cf. LIDDELL/SCOTT, *Lexicon*, 1154. On rapprochera *γαρίδιον* des formes *γαρῖνος*, *γαρίσκος* (cf. D'A. W. THOMPSON, *A Glossary of Greek fishes*, Londres 1947, p. 43) et *γαρίδα* (DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, 238).

(13) Sur l'interprétation chrétienne des lois concernant les poissons impurs : J. ENGEMANN, art. 'Fisch, Fischer, Fischfang', dans : *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, t. 7 (1969), col. 1028, 1037 et 1039. Sur le poisson lui-même : THOMPSON, *Glossary*, pp. 165-66 (s.v. *μῦρος*), 162-65 (s.v. *μύραινα*) et 248 (s.v. *σμῦρος*), ainsi que A. STEIER,

s'apparentent aux serpents si bien qu'elles sont présumées se reproduire par un coït anormal avec les serpents (14). De même, on appelle le *μῦρος* 'serpent de la mer' (15). Cette parenté rappelle que l'Antéchrist lui-même apparaît souvent sous les traits d'un serpent (16). Avant tout, il convient de rapprocher le détail du *μυρίδιον* dans notre récit, du passage de Jacques d'Edesse (17) dans lequel le père de l'Antéchrist est dit s'approcher de sa mère non pas en raison d'un amour légitime, mais furtivement, comme un serpent lubrique, *quasi lubricus anguis*. Cette scène évoque la séduction d'Ève par le serpent (*Gen.* 3). Ainsi, le nom de *μυρίδιον* paraît fort significatif : il souligne le caractère impur et diabolique du poisson, ce qui l'oppose au poisson-Christ «tout à fait grand et pur» de l'inscription d'Abercios (18).

Le poisson *γάρος*, dont dérive le *γαρίδιον*, est bien plus mystérieux (19). C'était, selon Pline, *Hist. nat.* 31, 93, l'ingrédient originel du *garum*, sauce de poissons très estimée dans l'antiquité (20). L'insertion du *γαρίδιον* dans l'*Apocalypse* s'explique, peut-être, par un dédain monastique à l'égard de ce régal normalement interdit aux moines (21).

Un autre détail insolite dans le récit de l'incarnation de l'Antéchrist concerne la durée, très brève, de sa gestation : dans le *Dialogue*, comme dans l'*Apocalypse*, elle n'est que de trois mois. Compte tenu de la

art. 'Muraene', dans : PAULY/WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, t. 16/1 (1933), col. 652-657. L'hérésie comparée à la murène : EPIPHANE, *Pan.* 37,9 (éd. HOLL-DUMMER, *GCS*, t. 2, p. 62, 9).

(14) Cf. surtout OPPIEN, *Halieutica* I, 554 ss. (éd. A. W. MAIR, *Loeb Class. Libr.*, p. 258 ss.).

(15) THOMPSON, *Glossary*, p. 166.

(16) BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist*, p. 94.

(17) Cité par BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

(18) Que l'on mangeât les têtes des murènes (STEIER, *op. cit.*, col. 656) peut expliquer le rôle de la tête dans l'*Apocalypse*.

(19) THOMPSON, *Glossary*, p. 43 ; H. LEITNER, *Zoologische Terminologie beim älteren Plinius*, Hildesheim 1972, pp. 124-25.

(20) Cf. Th. ZAHN, art. 'Garum', dans : PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, t. 7 (1912), col. 841-849 ; R. I. CURTIS, 'In defense of *garum*', *Classical Journal* 78 (1982-83), pp. 232-240 ; le même, *Garum and Salsamenta*, Leyde 1991.

(21) Tout au moins chez les moines égyptiens des IVe et Ve siècles (cf. ZAHN, *op. cit.*, col. 849). En général, manger du poisson était jugé incompatible avec l'idéal de la virginité, cf. PS.-ATHANASE, *Canones*, cap. 92 (éd. W. RIEDEL & W. E. CRUM, 51 [ar.] & 59) ; *Vie de Daniel le Scétiote* (éd. L. CLUGNET, 24). On se souviendra qu'un charme protecteur, fort répandu dans l'Antiquité, représentait le membre viril sous forme de poisson, voir J. ENGEMANN, 'Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike', *Jahrbuch f. Antike und Christentum* 18 (1975), pp. 32-33.

composition adroite du récit, on souhaiterait découvrir ici un exemple de plus du procédé de la «spiegelbildliche Verkehrung» et le faire dériver de quelque tradition apocryphe sur la gestation de Jésus. Or, ce même nombre de trois mois se trouve, à propos de la gestation du Christ, mentionné dans un traité copte, récemment édité et attribué au grand archimandrite Chenouté (22). L'auteur y cite Nestorius dont il veut réfuter les arguments christologiques. Il lui fait dire, entre autres :

> «Je me refuse à appeler Dieu celui qui a été pendant trois mois dans le sein et qui a été allaité et a grandi peu à peu» (23).

Or, ce passage n'est que l'écho d'un épisode dramatique du Concile d'Ephèse de 431, auquel Chenouté a lui-même assisté. Selon le témoignage de S. Cyrille, Nestorius, après que la doctrine orthodoxe de la divinité du Christ lui eût été exposée de nouveau, montra son obstination en disant 'd'une voix méchante' :

> «moi, je me refuse à appeler Dieu un enfant de deux ou trois mois (*διμηνιαῖον καὶ τριμηνιαῖον*) (24).

Ces paroles de Nestorius firent scandale et Théodote d'Ancyre les cite dans son réquisitoire qui fait partie des actes du concile (25). L'interprétation de ces mots ne va pas sans problèmes : s'agit-il d'un enfant âgé de trois mois ou d'un enfant né après trois mois ? Le grec est ambigu (26) et la première interprétation, bien qu'inexpliquée, a été acceptée tout naturellement. Toutefois, la phrase précise du copte nous montre que l'autre interprétation n'était pas seulement possible, mais effectivement connue. En effet, il se peut que les propos de Nestorius

(22) *Contra origenistas*, éd. T. Orlandi, Rome 1985.

(23) Orlandi, p. 54, § 480 ; le fragment en question (*British Libr. Or.* 3581 A (32)) aussi chez A. Shisha-Halevy, 'Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library', *Enchoria* 5 (1975), pp. 76-79 et 102-103 ; cf. le même, *Enchoria* 6 (1976), pp. 45-49.

(24) Cyrille, *Ep.* 23 (Migne, *PG* 77, 133 B), citée dans les actes du concile : E. Schwartz, éd., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* I/1/2, p. 66, 28-29 ; version copte : U. Bouriant, *Actes du Concile d'Ephèse*, Mémoires mission archéol. française au Caire 8/1, Paris 1892, p. 42 (cf. W. Kraatz, *Koptische Akten zum Ephesinischen Konzil*, Texte u. Untersuchungen 26/2, Leipzig 1904, pp. 159-60) ; aussi : Socrate, *Hist. eccl.* VII, 34 (Migne, *PG* 67, 813 C) ; Théophane, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5925 (Migne, *PG* 108, 240 A).

(25) Schwartz, *ACO* I/1/2, p. 38 ; cf. aussi la défense, postérieure, de Nestorios, *Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* I, 2 (trad. F. Nau, p. 121 ss.). Discussion chez J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Cambridge 1908, pp. 69-81.

(26) Cf. Liddell/Scott, *Lexicon*, 1820 (s.v. *τριμηνιαῖος*). Le récit a : *τριμηνήτης* (*Dialogue*) et *τριμηνιότης* (*Apocalypse*).

ou, plutôt, ceux que ses adversaires lui ont prêtés, soient eux-mêmes l'écho d'une tradition apocryphe ou de quelque raillerie courante qui raccourcit miraculeusement la gestation de Jésus ([27]). Quoi qu'il en soit, le moine copte nous permet de discerner comment, grâce à l'hérétique de l'an 431, un public averti du ve siècle a pu associer cette période de trois mois à l'incarnation du Christ ([27a]).

Une question plus capitale concerne le pays d'origine de l'Antéchrist et de sa mère. K. Berger, se basant sur la version A du *Dialogue*, a proposé que le pays de Gouzè (*Apocalypse* : Gouzèth) soit à identifier à l'Egypte et que ce nom soit le même que celui traditionnellement donné au pays des Ethiopiens : Koush ([28]). Mais une telle confusion de l'Ethiopie et de l'Egypte serait bien insolite. C'est pourquoi P. Zervos n'a voulu voir en Gouzè qu'une désignation, d'ailleurs inconnue, de l'Egypte ([29]). Toutefois, d'ores et déjà, la lecture attentive des deux versions grecques du *Dialogue* impose la seule solution correcte. La version B dit que l'Antéchrist est né dans la ville de Daphné. La version A permet de préciser qu'il s'agit de Daphné d'Egypte. Heureusement, la ville de Daphné, située dans le nord-est du delta égyptien, est bien connue ([30]). C'est le Tahpanhès biblique (LXX et copte :

(27) Dans l'Église ancienne, certains milieux hétérodoxes réduisaient la durée de la gestation de Jésus, cf. W. BAUER, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen 1909, pp. 54-56 ; M. TARDIEU, '«Comme à travers un tuyau» : quelques remarques sur le mythe valentinien de la chair céleste du Christ', dans : B. BARC, éd., *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi*, Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, Études 1, Québec 1981, pp. 151-177 ; T. ORLANDI, *Omelie copte*, dans *Corona Patrum*, 7, Turin, 1981, p. 47, et pp. 55-67. — Dans la littérature grecque profane, un enfant de trois mois évoque le ridicule, cf. J. M. EDMONDS, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, t. 3A, Leyde 1961, p. 390, no. 213 (mais cf. p. 391, n. b !) ; C. AUSTIN, *Comicorum graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta*, Berlin 1973, pp. 49-50, no. 76.

(27a) Certaines versions de la *Vie d'Adam et d'Eve* semblent attribuer à Caïn une gestation de trois mois (ch. 18-19, géorgien, trad. J.-P. Mahé, pp. 235-36 ; latin, éd. W. Meyer, p. 227 ; J. H. Mozley, p. 133 ; le texte est d'ailleurs équivoque). La symétrie 'Caïn, engendré par le serpent du Paradis — l'Antéchrist, engendré par un poisson ophidien', serait complémentaire à la double opposition 'le Christ — l'Antéchrist' et 'Jésus, fils de Dieu — Caïn, fils du diable' (cf. A. GOLDBERG, 'Kain : Sohn des Menschen oder Sohn der Schlange ?', *Judaica* 25, 1969, pp. 203-221, notamment p. 211).

(28) BERGER, *Daniel-Diegese*, p. 106.

(29) ZERVOS, dans : CHARLESWORTH, *Pseudepigrapha*, t. 1, p. 757, n. 12.

(30) H. DE MEULENAERE, art. 'Daphne', dans : *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, t. 1 (1975), col. 990, et surtout S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Beihefte Tübinger Atlas Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 41, t. 2, Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 551-555. L'orthographe grecque du nom ancien du site montre quelques variantes (Daphnai, Daphnè, Taphnai, Taphnas).

Taphnas) qui figure notamment dans le livre de Jérémie (31). Or, cette ville de Daphné se situe dans le pays de Goshèn (Gessen) (32). Ainsi, le pays de Gouzè est sans aucun doute à identifier au Goshèn de l'Ancien Testament, «une contrée des égyptiens», comme le dit le *Dialogue* (A, l. 104) (33).

Cette constatation faite, il nous reste une autre question à élucider : pourquoi l'Antéchrist naîtra-t-il à Goshèn ? Selon le principe de la «spiegelbildliche Verkehrung», le pays de Galilée ne serait-il pas mieux qualifié ? En effet, la croyance selon laquelle l'Antéchrist doit venir de Galilée est bien attestée par d'autres sources (34). Cependant, notre récit le fait naître à Daphné d'Egypte.

La ville de Daphné, bien obscure auparavant, doit son importance à la politique militaire des pharaons saïtes de la 26e dynastie (664-525 a. C.). Dès cette époque, elle était fréquentée par des réfugiés palestiniens, parmi lesquels le prophète Jérémie qui devait la rendre célèbre. Autour de ces données historiques, une 'histoire légendaire' de la ville s'est formée, jusqu'à constituer ce qu'on a appelé un 'cycle

(31) Hébreu : JÉR. 2 : 16 ; 43 : 7-9 (LXX : 50 : 7-9) ; 44 : 1 (LXX : 51 : 1) ; 46 : 14 (sahidique : 26 : 14 ; cf. O. VON LEMM, 'Bemerkungen zum koptischen Kambyses-Roman', dans : *Kleine koptische Studien*, rééd. Leipzig 1972, p. 113) ; aussi : Ez. 30 : 18. Sur le nom de Tahpanhès : W. SPIEGELBERG, 'Zu dem alttestamentlichen Namen der Stadt Daphne', *Zeitschrift f. Ägyptische Sprache* 65 (1930), pp. 59-60, et P. CHUVIN/J. YOYOTTE, 'Documents relatifs au culte pélusien de Zeus Casios', *Revue Archéologique* 1986/1, p. 48, n. 33 ; sur Daphné à l'époque de Jérémie : N. AIMÉ-GIRON, 'Adversaria Semitica (III), VII : Baʿal Ṣaphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* 40 (1940), pp. 433-66.

(32) JUDITH 1 : 9-10 (LXX) ; Egérie (Ethérie), *Itinéraire* 9, 4 : janvier 384 (éd. P. MARAVAL, *SC* 296, pp. 162-64, cf. aussi pp. 82-83). Voir P. MARAVAL, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient : histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985, pp. 312-13.

(33) L'orthographe du nom pose un problème. La vocalisation est plus proche de celle des massorètes (cf. B. H. STRICKER, 'Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes', *Acta Orientalia* 15, 1937, p. 8) que de celle de la Septante (Gezem ; copte : *idem* ; Vulg. : Gessen) ou du syriaque. Y a-t-il quelque interférence avec le nom de la ville de Phakousa ? Cette ville, non loin de Daphné, était (selon Ptolémée) le chef-lieu du nome d'Arabia où l'on situait dans l'antiquité (déjà *Gen.* 45 : 10 ; 46 : 34, LXX) le pays de Goshèn. Sur Phakousa : S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, t. 2, pp. 923-26.

(34) W. BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 113-114 ; PS.-ATHANASE, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 109 (MIGNE, *PG* 28, 664 D-665 A ; cité par Bousset) est intéressant parce qu'il connaît la tradition alternative (celle de l'origine égyptienne de l'Antéchrist), tradition qu'il rejette comme un «conte de bonne femme» : «c'est, au contraire, de la Galilée qu'il vient, d'où le Christ est venu».

daphnéen', qui réunit des éléments juifs, égyptiens et, enfin, chrétiens (35). La ville était censée être la résidence des pharaons (36), identifiée plus tard au Tanis biblique (37), ainsi que le lieu du martyre de Jérémie et l'emplacement originel de sa sépulture (38). C'est surtout le séjour de ce dernier à Daphné qui a fécondé l'imagination. On en trouve un témoignage précieux dans les *Vitae Prophetarum*, une collection de notices biographiques des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament (39). D'origine juive et assez ancienne (Ier siècle ?), cette collection a connu une grande diffusion dans l'Église. La notice sur Jérémie nous apprend que celui-ci, après sa lapidation par les juifs, a été enterré dans le domaine du palais du pharaon à Daphné. Cet honneur, les égyptiens l'ont rendu au prophète en raison de son pouvoir contre les serpents et les crocodiles. Son influence bienfaisante se poursuivit après sa mort et c'est pourquoi Alexandre le Grand aurait exhumé sa dépouille afin de la transporter à Alexandrie. Faisant suite à cette légende, teintée d'une couleur locale bien authentique, on en trouve une autre, dont voici la traduction :

(35) J. SCHWARTZ, 'Les conquérants perses et la littérature égyptienne', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 48 (1949), pp. 65-80, notamment p. 79.

(36) Deux traditions indépendantes, juive (dérivant de *Jér.* 43 : 9 ; LXX : 50 : 9) et égyptienne (conte démotique d'époque ptolémaïque, situé sous les rois de la 26e dynastie : W. ERICHSEN, *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, Abhandlungen Akademie Wissensch. Mainz ; Geistes- u. Sozialwissensch. Klasse 1956/2, Mayence 1956, p. 14). Dans la tradition copte, il convient de citer le '*Roman de Cambyse*' (V, 23 ; XII, 13) et la *Chronique* de Jean de Nikiou (v. O. VON LEMM, *Kleine koptische Studien*, pp. 116-17), qui relèvent du 'cycle daphnéen'.

(37) Chez les pèlerins chrétiens, p. ex. EGÉRIE, *Itinéraire, loc. cit.*, qui en fait aussi la ville natale de Moïse ; cf. VON LEMM, *Kleine koptische Studien*, p. 118 ; P. MARAVAL, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, p. 312.

(38) Dans les *Vitae Prophetarum* et les sources qui en dépendent (cf. VON LEMM, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118 ; J. JEREMIAS, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt*, Göttingen 1958, pp. 108-111, et la discussion ci-dessous) ; les traditions rabbiniques ne sont pas unanimes, cf. L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1946-47 (réimpr.), t. 6, pp. 399-400. Les sources occidentales du Moyen-Âge confondent Tanis = Taphnis/Daphné (cf. la note précédente) avec Tennîs. Ainsi, on situait la mort de Jérémie dans cette ville-ci, près de la mer, ville prise, après Damiette, en novembre 1219 par les croisés, cf. OLIVIER DE COLOGNE, *Historia Damiatina*, cap. 40 (éd. HOOGEWEG, 240-44) ; de même, Joos VAN GHISTELE (XVe siècle) qui, en outre, mentionne la tradition locale qui veut que Jérémie soit enterré à Damiette : *Voyage en Egypte*, ch. 32 (trad. R. BAUWENS-PRÉAUX, 107). D'après le Synaxaire copte, Jérémie mourut à Alexandrie (éd. R. BASSET, *PO* 16/2, p. 356).

(39) Cf., en dernier lieu, D. R. A. HARE, 'The Lives of the Prophets', dans : J. H. CHARLESWORTH, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, t. 2, Londres 1985, pp. 379-399.

> «Ce même prophète faisait un signe aux prêtres de l'Egypte, disant que toutes leurs idoles devaient être ébranlées et que tous les artefacts devaient s'écrouler quand viendrait en Egypte une vierge qui accouche, accompagnée d'un nouveau-né divin (var. : que toutes leurs idoles devaient être ébranlées par un sauveur, un enfant né dans une crèche ; autre var. : par un sauveur, un enfant né d'une vierge, couché dans une crèche). Et c'est ce qui advint. C'est pourquoi, jusqu'à ce jour, ils vénèrent une vierge qui accouche et mettant un nouveau-né dans une crèche, ils l'adorent. Et quand le roi Ptolémée les interrogea sur le motif, ils lui dirent : c'est pour nous une tradition ancestrale, un mystère transmis à nos pères par le saint prophète et nous attendons le dénouement de ce mystère» (40).

L'origine de cette légende est incertaine. Elle pourrait conserver une tradition messianique juive (41). Il est toutefois plus probable qu'elle constitue une intercalation chrétienne, qui fait allusion à la fuite en Egypte (42). Dans les deux cas elle pourrait, en outre, se rattacher à quelque culte égyptien (43). Quoi qu'il en soit, la légende telle qu'elle nous est conservée qualifiait d'ores et déjà la ville de Daphné comme l'antipode égyptien de Bethléem, dont le rôle messianique avait été prédit par un autre prophète (*Michée* 5 : 1). Mais, est-ce aussi un antipode négatif ? C'est possible : le pharaon avait son palais à Daphné, Jérémie y a été martyrisé par ses compatriotes idolâtres et l'image de la ville que présente le livre (canonique) de Jérémie est assez négative. De la même façon elle figure dans la prophétie fameuse d'Ezéchiel, annonçant la désolation de l'Egypte (30 : 18). Ainsi, semble-t-il, la ville de Daphné d'Egypte était éminemment prédisposée à devenir le berceau de l'Antéchrist et le domicile de sa mère vierge.

Cette mère vierge pose, après celui de son origine, un autre problème : celui de son identité. Dans le *Dialogue* elle s'appelle Eudokia,

(40) Texte et variantes : Th. SCHERMANN, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden*, Texte u. Untersuchungen 31/3, Leipzig 1907, pp. 82-83 (cf. aussi 85 et 87). L'écho de cette légende se trouve chez JOOS VAN GHISTELE, *Voyage en Egypte*, ch. 22 et 25 (trad. R. BAUWENS-PRÉAUX, pp. 75-76 et 90 : les idoles d'Egypte brisées au passage de la Vierge et de l'enfant Jésus, comme l'avait prédit Jérémie) et dans la légende de la statue de la Vierge au Puy en France, sculptée par Jérémie lors de son exil et rapportée d'Egypte par Louis IX (voir G. VIAUD/A. NAGUIB, 'En parcourant la Charqueia, 4 : Taphnis, la citadelle orientale', *Le Progrès Egyptien*, 22-28 août 1982, suppl. p. VI).

(41) HARE, dans : CHARLESWORTH, *Pseudepigrapha*, t. 2, p. 387, n. n.

(42) M. DE JONGE, 'Christelijke elementen in de Vitae Prophetarum', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 16 (1961-62), pp. 168-69.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 168, n. 5.

dans l'*Apocalypse* Adikia (c.-à-d. Injustice). K. Berger a conjecturé que l'Eudokia du *Dialogue* soit un *lapsus calami* pour Adikia (44). L'idée n'en est guère acceptable. Qu'une telle erreur ait été commise, semble, de prime abord, difficile à admettre : Eudokia serait toujours *lectio difficilior*. De plus, le *Dialogue* étant, comme on a pu le montrer, plus précis dans la transmission des toponymes, pourrait l'être de même dans celle des anthroponymes. C'est, en effet, ce que va confirmer la comparaison des deux sources.

Ce qui saute aux yeux, si l'on étudie de plus près les vers de l'*Apocalypse* 11 : 9-10, c'est leur redondance quasi-parfaite :

> «9. Son nom sera Adikia (Injustice), parce que le fils de l'injustice (*ἀδικία*) doit être né d'elle.
> 10. Son surnom sera Apôleia (Perdition)».

Le premier vers n'est qu'une tautologie. L'expression 'fils de l'injustice (*ἀδικία*)' a l'air d'être l'une des façons courantes de désigner l'Antéchrist. En réalité, il ne s'agit d'aucune des deux épithètes traditionnelles dont l'usage à propos de l'Antéchrist est devenu 'technique' : 'l'homme de l'iniquité (*ἀνομία*)' et 'le fils de la perdition (*ἀπώλεια*)' (2 *thess.* 2 : 3). C'est une 'citation manquée' que rien ne semble justifier. L'auteur de l'*Apocalypse* a signalé la maladresse et a voulu la corriger en ajoutant le vers fade qui donne à la mère un deuxième nom, Apôleia, évidemment redondant, mais tout au moins familier.

Si ces vers de l'*Apocalypse* sont évidemment ineptes, le vers correspondant du *Dialogue* a plutôt l'air d'un calembour ingénieux. Ici, la référence à 2 *Thess.* 2 : 3 n'est pas exacte non plus («c'est de l'*ἀδικία* que tu dois être né»), mais la présence du terme *ἀδικία* est justifiée (et, il faut supposer, nécessitée) par la forme du nom de la vierge, Eudokia. Or, l'auteur du récit a voulu insérer un nom de femme réelle. Ensuite, il a ajouté la glose qui identifie Eudokia par calembour à *ἀδικία*, ce qui est suffisamment proche de la terminologie traditionnelle pour que l'allusion scripturaire soit évidente.

Ayant établi que le nom originel de la vierge doit être Eudokia, on se demande pourquoi l'auteur ancien a voulu ainsi la baptiser. Par rapport au cadre apocalyptique, son motif n'a guère pu être autre que le désir d'introduire une allusion à quelque personnage réel. Ainsi, ce personnage devait avoir été assez connu et, évidemment, assez contro-

(44) *Daniel-Diegese*, p. 106.

versé à l'époque et dans le milieu où notre récit a été rédigé. Or, parmi les femmes controversées de l'empire chrétien, l'impératrice Eudokia (Eudocie, env. 401-460), épouse de Théodose II, fait bonne figure. C'est l'une des femmes les plus formidables de l'époque, qui a inspiré jusqu'aux romanciers modernes (45). Qu'elle ait vécu depuis 443 jusqu'à sa mort en retraite en Palestine, serait conforme aux indices, minces bien sûr, d'une origine palestinienne du récit de l'Antéchrist (46). En outre, pour justifier son association, aux yeux de certains de ses contemporains, au diable, il n'est que de citer ses penchants traditionalistes favorables aux païens (47) et aux juifs, notamment en Palestine (48), mais surtout son intervention active dans les grands conflits théologiques de l'époque.

Dans les années qui suivirent le Concile de Chalcédoine de 451, Eudokia figurait parmi les partisans du parti anti-chalcédonien. A Jérusalem elle s'était alliée au moine Théodose. Celui-ci s'était emparé, par force, du siège épiscopal de la ville, après l'expulsion de Juvénal, l'évêque légitime, qui, d'abord partisan fidèle de Dioscore d'Alexandrie, avait fait volte-face pendant le concile (49). Cette position a valu à

(45) Biographie récente : K. G. HOLUM, *Theodosian Empresses : Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982, p. 112 ss.

(46) G. T. ZERVOS, dans CHARLESWORTH, *Pseudepigrapha*, t. 1, p. 757 (version *Apocalypse*) ; CASEY/THOMSON, 'Dialogue', p. 64 (version *Dialogue*). L'origine monastique du *Dialogue* est indiquée surtout par le cadre de l'écrit : le jeûne du Christ et des ses disciples sur 'la montagne' (*τὸ ὄρος*) ; la lutte que déchaîne contre eux le diable, irrité par leur jeûne (version slave R1 ; CASEY/THOMSON, p. 55) ; les bouleversements de la nature accompagnant l'apparition de l'armée des démons. La datation de CASEY/THOMPSON, p. 64 (IVe siècle ou commencement du Ve pour l'archétype), serait à modifier selon les interprétations proposées ici : milieu du Xe siècle pour le récit de l'Antéchrist (cf. aussi les indices signalés ci-dessus : dépendance de la *Vita* d'Abercios, voir n. 10, et connaissance des propos de Nestorios), ce qui fournit un *terminus post quem* pour la version originale du Dialogue.

(47) A. CAMERON, 'The empress and the poet : paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II', *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982), pp. 217-289 ; Holum, *op. cit.*, p. 125-27.

(48) F. NAU, 'Deux épisodes de l'histoire juive sous Théodose II (423 et 438) d'après la vie de Barsaume le Syrien', *Revue des Études Juives* 83 (1927), pp. 184-206 ; HOLUM, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-25 et 217-18.

(49) Sur les événements en Palestine suivant le concile : H. BACHT, 'Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)', dans : A. GRILLMEYER/H. BACHT, éds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, Würzburg 1951-54, t. 2, pp. 243-55, et sur la réaction égyptienne : p. 255 ss. ; D. J. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966, pp. 88-95 ; W. H. C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972, p. 143 ss. ; HOLUM, *Theodosian Empresses*, pp. 222-24.

Eudokia une popularité durable parmi les monophysites de l'Egypte (50), tandis que Juvénal y faisait figure de vrai diable (51). Dès le début, les deux partis ne tardèrent pas à rendre tout ce violent conflit en termes démonologiques et eschatologiques (52). Ainsi, l'empereur Marcien, dans une lettre de 453 au clergé de Palestine, appelle-t-il le moine Théodose, qui s'était déjà réfugié en Egypte, le précurseur de l'Antéchrist (53). Syméon le Stylite, dans un message célèbre à Eudokia, attribue l'adhésion de l'impératrice au parti de «ce dévastateur Théodose, qui s'est fait le réceptacle et l'instrument du malin» au désir du diable de la perdre (54). Pendant le concile, les ennemis orientaux du patriarche d'Alexandrie s'étaient déjà tout naturellement inspirés de la langue biblique pour dénoncer leurs adversaires : «c'est ce qu'ont dit les égyptiens ! c'est du pharaon !» (55). Compte tenu de ces données, il n'est guère audacieux de distinguer dans l'association du nom d'Eudokia à celui de l'Antéchrist, originaire d'une ville d'Egypte que l'on prenait à cette époque pour la résidence des pharaons, une allusion aux événements de ces années tumultueuses.

Plus tard, grâce à son retour à l'orthodoxie chalcédonienne et grâce au souvenir de ses pieuses fondations, Eudokia a pu apparaître parmi les saints du calendrier melkite (56). Ainsi, le rédacteur ultérieur de

(50) Cf. JEAN DE NIKIOU, *Chronique*, ch. 87 (trad. R. H. CHARLES, Londres 1916, pp. 104-09) ; H. A. DRAKE, 'A Coptic version of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 381-392 ; le même dans : T. ORLANDI et al., *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre : A Constantinian Legend in Coptic*, Milan 1980, pp. 130-31 et 148-58.

(51) Cf. M. CRAMER/H. BACHT, 'Der antichalkedonische Aspekt im historisch-biographische Schrifttum der koptischen Monophysiten (6.-7. Jahrhundert)', dans : GRILLMEYER/BACHT, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, t. 2, pp. 315-338 ; D. W. JOHNSON, 'Anti-Chalcedonian polemics in Coptic texts, 451-641', dans : B. A. PEARSON/ J. E. GOEHRING, éds., *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1986, pp. 216-234.

(52) Exemples dans la littérature monophysite copte : CRAMER/BACHT, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-24.

(53) SCHWARTZ, *ACO* II/1/3, pp. 133-34, surtout 133, 6 ss. ; de même, CYRILLE DE SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* § 27 (éd. E. SCHWARTZ, *TU* 49/2, p. 41, 22-23). Pour la fuite de Théodose en Egypte, cf. les références chez CHITTY, *Desert*, p. 99, n. 64. L'anecdote que rapporte à son propos EVAGRE LE SCHOLASTIQUE, *Hist. eccl.* II, 5 (éd. J. BIDEZ & L. PARMENTIER, Londres 1898, p. 52, 9 ss.) pourrait indiquer que, plus tard, les chalcédoniens de Palestine l'ont pris littéralement pour un 'égyptien'.

(54) CYRILLE DE SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii*, § 30 (éd. SCHWARTZ, p. 47, 26 ss.).

(55) Cf. FREND, *Rise*, p. 6, n. 1.

(56) Toutefois, elle continua, même après sa 'conversion', à protéger les ennemis de Juvénal, cf. CHITTY, *Desert*, pp. 94-95 ; apparemment, les coptes monophysites ont ignoré cette conversion, cf. DRAKE chez ORLANDI, *Eudoxia*, p. 158, et n. 50 ci-dessus.

l'*Apocalypse* n'a rien pu faire du nom d'Eudokia et l'a 'corrigé' en Adikia. Mais l'auteur du *Dialogue* ou de sa source, peut-être un moine palestinien du ve siècle, n'a pu s'empêcher d'insérer dans le récit de la naissance de l'Antéchrist ce calembour, qui fait de la vierge de Daphné si fatalement passionnée pour le poisson une impératrice de Byzance.

J. VAN DER VLIET

LA SCULPTURE ARCHITECTURALE DU *KATHOLIKON* D'HOSIOS MELETIOS ET L'ÉMERGENCE D'UN STYLE NOUVEAU AU DÉBUT DU XIIe SIÈCLE

Sur le mont Cithéron (ancien mont Myopolis) en Attique, près de la Béotie, à hauteur du village d'Inoï, sur la route reliant la ville de Mandra à celle de Thèbes, se situe le monastère d'Hosios Meletios. La décoration sculptée en marbre (1) ornant les encadrements des portes menant au *naos* ainsi que le *templon* du *katholikon* du monastère, a suscité jusqu'ici peu d'intérêt depuis l'étude du complexe monastique et de son fondateur faite par A. Orlandos (2). Pourtant, la technique et la combinaison particulière des motifs du décor architectural révèlent un changement stylistique déjà perceptible au XIIe siècle sur certains reliefs de Grèce et s'épanouissant au XIIIe siècle, notamment dans le décor sculpté des églises d'Épire.

Nicolas de Méthone et Théodore Prodrome, tous deux auteurs d'une *Vie de saint Meletios* (mort vers 1105) au cours de la première moitié du XIIe siècle (3), notent que ce saint, originaire de Cappadoce, commence sa vie monastique à Constantinople, puis se rend à Thessalonique,

(1) La carrière d'origine de ce marbre n'a pas encore été localisée. La carte géologique de la Grèce, publiée par l'Institut de Recherche en Géologie, indique un banc de calcaire dolomitique de couleur grise et veiné (formation à classer dans le Triasique supérieur), situé à deux kilomètres à l'ouest du monastère d'Hosios Meletios. L'utilisation d'une carrière locale n'est pas une hypothèse à écarter. Cependant, la découverte d'une inscription antique figurant sur un bloc de marbre situé parmi d'autres fragments sculptés dans une cellule du monastère, indique que les sculpteurs avaient réutilisé des marbres antiques.

(2) A. ORLANDOS, *Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Ὁσίου Μελετίου καὶ τὰ παραλαύρια αὐτῆς*, dans *Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (cité ABME), 5 (1939-1940), pp. 35-106. À la p. 59, l'auteur date le *katolikon* du dernier quart du XIe siècle ou du début du XIIe siècle.

(3) *Vita* de saint Meletios par Nicolas de Méthone BHG 1247 et par Théodore Prodrome BHG 1248. Éd. C. PAPADOPOULOS, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, fasc. 2, Athènes, 1935, pp. 34-66 et pp. 67-91 ; B. VASILIEVSKIJ, dans *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, VI. 2 (1886), pp. 1-39 ; E. K. EMEND, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2 (1893), p. 312.

à Athènes et au couvent de Saint-Georges, près de Thèbes, où il reste vingt années. Ensuite, il effectue des pèlerinages à Jérusalem, à Rome et à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. En 1081, il arrive au monastère du Symbole sur le mont Myopolis, où l'higoumène Théodose lui assigne la chapelle du Sauveur. À la suite du décès de Théodose, Meletios devient abbé et fait construire 22 ou 24 *paralavria* (4) (annexes) regroupant chacune huit à douze moines. Peu après sa mort en 1105, le monastère du Symbole prend le nom d'Hosios Meletios et connaît son apogée aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. L'établissement reste sous l'autorité des Grecs pendant la période qui suit la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204. Les Latins parviennent cependant à contrôler le monastère en 1218. Plus tard, il est pillé par Théodore Comnène Doukas d'Épire (1216-1230) lors de sa campagne destinée à libérer Thessalonique ainsi que d'autres régions grecques occupées par les Francs.

Le complexe monastique et la décoration sculptée du *katholikon* (5)

Le *katholikon* du monastère d'Hosios Meletios est situé dans la cour centrale du complexe monastique dont les murs extérieurs fortifiés décrivent un plan trapézoïdal. Les bâtiments monastiques abritent les cellules des moines, le réfectoire, la cuisine et les salles de provisions (fig. 1). Le plan de l'église est en croix grecque inscrite. Quatre colonnes soutiennent le tambour cylindrique de la coupole. À l'est, une abside centrale est flanquée par deux autres plus petites. Au sud de l'église se trouve accolée une chapelle à coupole dédiée aux Archanges. Vers le milieu du XIIe siècle, la construction d'une *liti* (narthex large à fonction funéraire ou commémorative) à deux colonnes, permit l'agrandissement du premier narthex (6). Dans la partie gauche de cette *liti*,

(4) 22 *paralavria* sont évoquées dans la *Vie d'Hosios Meletios* de Nicolas de Méthone (PAPADOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 49, l. 7) et 24 oratoires (*εὐκτήρια*) sont cités dans la *Vita* écrite par Théodore Prodrome (PAPADOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 74, l. 22).

(5) La description du décor architectonique du *katholikon* figure déjà dans mon mémoire de licence (Catherine VANDERHEYDE, *La sculpture architectonique mésobyzantine. Évolution du style à Constantinople et en Grèce centrale*, mémoire inédit, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991) présenté à l'Université Catholique de Louvain et préparé sous la direction du Professeur Jacqueline LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE.

(6) P. M. MYLONAS, *Gavits arméniens et Litae byzantines. Observations nouvelles sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide*, dans *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 38 (1990), pp. 103 et sv.

se situe un *arcosolium* dans lequel repose le sarcophage du saint. Les peintures recouvrant les mur de la *liti* datent du troisième quart du XVIe siècle (7). Une crypte occupe une partie de l'espace situé sous la *liti*. En 1200, un *exonarthex* est ajouté à l'extrémité ouest de l'église. La décoration sculptée couvre deux divisions architecturales essentielles du *katholikon* : les encadrements des trois portes menant au *naos* et le *templon*.

a) Les encadrements des portes menant au *naos*, sont composés de fines plaques de marbre taillées en biais et limitées de chaque côté par un listel. La porte centrale diffère légèrement des deux autres par ses dimensions plus élevées (1,13 × 2,00 m.) et par la décoration de son linteau comportant un arc, deux feuilles d'acanthe aux extrémités supérieures recourbées et deux aigles aux ailes déployées, dont les têtes ne sont pas conservées. Ces derniers motifs se détachent en relief sur un fond couvert d'une ornementation géométrico-végétale sculptée en méplat (fig. 3). Celle-ci est composée de divers ornements : entre l'aigle et la feuille d'acanthe, un triple ruban décrit une forme sinueuse et se termine par des pétales stylisés ou une palmette en forme de cœur. Une croix fleurie apparaît sous l'arc central souligné par une rangée de perles et de pirouettes à la partie supérieure et soutenu de chaque côté par deux colonnes nouées. Au-dessus de la branche horizontale de la croix, sont gravées les initiales IC XC pour *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. De part et d'autre de cet arc, quatre palmettes en forme de cœur dont les tiges réunies décrivent une croix grecque, sont entourées de palmettes stylisées. Les extrémités du linteau sont soulignées par trois rangées verticales de petits losanges tandis que le bord inférieur est ponctué de perles alternant avec des pirouettes. L'encadrement de cette porte (0,23 m.) est orné d'une succession de petits rectangles tangents disposés en entrelacs. À l'intérieur de ceux-ci, se déploient diverses palmettes stylisées (fig. 4). Les portes latérales présentent chacune une ornementation analogue (fig. 5). Leurs linteaux sont décorés d'une croix fleurie dont les deux rameaux semblent être noués à une ligne de cercles tangents en entrelacs, occupés chacun par une feuille à cinq lobes (fig. 6). Les encadrements de ces portes latérales (largeur: 0,12 m.) sont ornés d'un épais rinceau composé d'un ruban divisé par trois incisions. Les extrémités de celui-ci se terminent par des feuilles sinueuses.

(7) H. DELIYANNI-DORIS, *Die Wandmalerei der Lite der Klosterkirche von Hosios Meletios* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 18), Munich, 1975.

b) Le *templon* (8) a été reconstitué par A. Orlandos grâce aux fragments sculptés rassemblés dans la collection du monastère. Les entailles marquant le sol de l'église à l'endroit où était élevé le *templon* original (9), ont servi de repères lors de la reconstruction. Les colonnettes supportant l'épistyle du *templon* se composent de deux formes superposées : la partie inférieure, limitant les plaques de chancel, est quadrangulaire tandis que la partie supérieure est polygonale. Sur la partie inférieure des deux colonnettes centrales, se succèdent des palmettes en forme de cœur, limitées de chaque côté par un rinceau épais. De nombreux trous de trépan ponctuent cette composition. Deux petits piliers, décorés d'une tresse à deux brins longée à droite par une ligne de perles et de pirouettes, sont accolées jusqu'à mi-hauteur à ces colonnettes. La partie inférieure des deux autres colonnettes comporte une ligne de cercles tangents formés par deux sinusoïdes et enfermant des rosettes, des soleils, des croix de Malte et des étoiles. Les chapiteaux surmontant ces colonnettes sont ornés de deux rangées de motifs sinueux : deux volutes auxquelles pend une grappe, sont disposées de manière symétrique et surmontées d'une palmette flanquée de deux tiges sinueuses. Plusieurs éléments décoratifs en relief, sculptés sur une surface couverte de motifs géométrico-végétaux, ornent l'épistyle. Au centre, un arc abritant une croix fleurie est sculpté en relief et flanqué d'une ligne de carrés tangents en entrelacs. Ceux-ci sont remplis de feuilles d'acanthe ou de quatre cercles formant un motif cruciforme. La succession de motifs analogues est interrompue, de part et d'autre du motif central, par deux motifs quadrilobés dont le relief s'est estompé au cours du temps. Sur les petits piliers encadrant les plaques de chancel, sont sculptés deux rinceaux dont les méandres sont occupés par des palmettes (fig. 7). L'espace central des plaques délimité par un ruban marqué par deux incisions, est couvert de quatre rangées de carrés tangents disposés en entrelacs. Une croix fleurie ou un motif végétal s'insère au sein de chacun de ces petits carrés. Le décor sculpté ornant les trois colonnettes, la plaque de chancel ainsi que l'épistyle de la *prothèse* (long. 1,26 m.) et du *diakonikon* (long. 1,41 m.), est analogue — à quelques variantes ornementales près — à celui de la

(8) Cf. schéma, fig. 2.

(9) A. Orlandos (*op. cit.* n. 2), p. 72, doute de l'appartenance des divers reliefs de la collection du monastère au *templon* original. Voir aussi : A. Orlandos, *Ἐργασίας ἀναστηλώσεως βυζαντινῶν μνημείων*, dans *ABME*, 1 (1935), p. 197-208.

partie centrale du *templon*. Derrière le *templon* se situe l'autel reposant sur cinq pieds surmontés de chapiteaux. Ceux-ci sont ornés d'un décor végétal sculpté dont la différence de style et la grossièreté d'exécution indique une date plus tardive que celle de la sculpture architecturale déjà décrite.

Outre le décor architectural du *katholikon*, le monastère possède une importante collection de reliefs provenant du monastère et de ses nombreuses dépendances attestant, par leur style, de leur appartenance à un même atelier de sculpteurs.

Le style et la technique

Les reliefs décrits se caractérisent par une prédominance de motifs géométriques et végétaux, la figuration de *zodia* étant restreinte aux deux aigles placés sur le linteau de la porte centrale menant au *naos*. Les motifs géométriques se limitent au carré, au rectangle, au cercle et à la tresse. Les entrelacs permettent de nouer les carrés, les rectangles ou les cercles, afin qu'ils se suivent d'une manière continue sur les reliefs. La décoration végétale parvient à créer des formes nouvelles à partir de trois motifs végétaux classiques : la palmette, le rinceau et le fleuron. La palmette, dont la tige est flanquée de deux petits trous de trépan, s'inscrit dans un cercle, un carré, un rectangle ou une forme de cœur. Le rinceau, marqué par deux, trois ou quatre incisions profondes, jaillit de la base d'une croix en se développant symétriquement le long du relief. Le fleuron devient plus stylisé et se compose de quatre lobes marqués d'un trou de trépan, séparés par quatre branches obliques.

La technique observée sur les reliefs du monastère d'Hosios Meletios semble plus évoluée que celle du XIe siècle : la distinction entre le fond dépourvu de décor et les motifs sculptés a ici disparu. L'aspect couvrant, homogène et parfait de la décoration sculptée de ce monastère soulève la question du procédé utilisé afin d'aboutir à ce résultat. L'examen attentif permet de distinguer deux procédés techniques : le champlevé et le méplat. La technique du champlevé est déjà utilisée au Ve siècle ([10]).

(10) Cf. A. M. S. MEGAW, *Byzantine architecture and decoration in Cyprus : metropolitan or provincial ?*, dans *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 60 et suiv. ; S. A. BOYD, *A little-known technique of architectural sculpture : champlevé reliefs from Cyprus*, dans *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/5 (1982), pp. 313-325.

La technique du méplat a évolué au cours de la période byzantine : dès le XIe siècle, la liaison entre le motif sculpté et le fond sur lequel il se détache est de plus en plus manifeste. À la technique en méplat viennent se greffer des motifs sculptés en haut-relief, tels les aigles, les feuilles d'acanthe et les cabochons ([11]). La composition décorative des reliefs d'Hosios Meletios obéit à des règles d'ordre, de symétrie et de rythme dans l'agencement des motifs. Ceux-ci, ponctués de petits trous de trépan, se succèdent à intervalle régulier. L'homogénéité du fond, constitué de formes similaires répétitives occupant le maximum d'espace disponible, est brisée par les motifs décoratifs sculptés en relief, visant à attirer le regard sur des symboles architecturaux liés au sacré. L'ornementation de la porte centrale menant au *naos* et celle de l'épistyle du templon illustrent ce dessein.

Plusieurs églises et monastères de Grèce, datés de la fin du XIIe ou du début du XIIIe siècle, présentent un décor architectural dont le style et la technique sont analogues à celui du monastère d'Hosios Meletios. La comparaison entre ces églises monastiques révèle des liens stylistiques montrant le développement de l'art provincial à cette époque. En Grèce centrale ([12]), les *templa* de quatre églises datées du XIIe siècle — sont sculptés suivant la même technique qu'à Hosios Meletios. L'église postbyzantine d'Hagia Paraskevi du village de Panakto ([13]) situé à quelques kilomètres à l'est du monastère d'Hosios Meletios, conserve des structures architecturales provenant d'un ancien *templon*. Il s'agit de deux chapiteaux, d'un épistyle et d'une plaque de chancel dont l'ornementation sculptée présente un style et des motifs identiques à ceux d'Hosios Meletios. Ces divers reliefs proviennent vraisemblablement d'une des dépendances du monastère et ont été réutilisés dans le *templon* et l'autel de l'église de Panakto. La ressemblance technique et stylistique de ces reliefs avec ceux d'Hosios Meletios indique qu'ils ont été exécutés par le même atelier de sculpteurs. Le fragment d'un épistyle provenant du *templon* de l'église de Saint-Jean, près du village d'Avlona, présente un fond orné d'un triple ruban décrivant des entre-

(11) A. GRABAR, *Sculpture byzantine du moyen-âge, XIe-XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1976, p. 24, utilise l'expression «relief à deux plans» pour caractériser cette nouvelle combinaison de techniques de taille, dont une des premières manifestations est à chercher dans la frise supérieure couvrant les angles des murs de l'église de Daphni (c. 1080).

(12) Pour la situation géographique de ces églises, cf. H. HUNGER, *Tabula imperii byzantini*, t. I, *Hellas und Thessalia*, Vienne, 1976, carte 2.

(13) C. BOURAS, A. KALOGEROPOULOS et P. ANDREADIS, *Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, Athènes, 1969, p. 175.

lacs et des rinceaux feuillus sur lesquels se détachent en relief un quadrupède et un paon dont il ne reste que la queue ([14]).

Du *templon* de l'église du Christ Sauveur d'Amphissa ([15]), subsistent des fragments sculptés de colonnettes et d'épistyles sur lesquels se détachent des motifs identiques à ceux observés à Hosios Meletios : lignes de carrés ou de rectangles disposés en entrelacs, feuilles d'acanthe, rinceaux et palmettes. Des éléments décoratifs comme les feuilles d'acanthe, les paons de part et d'autre de la fontaine de vie, l'aigle capturant un lièvre dans ses serres, émergent en faible relief d'un fond couvert de motifs géométrico-végétaux (fig. 8-9). Le monastère de Sagmata situé au nord de Thèbes et daté du troisième quart du XIIe siècle ([16]), conserve encore divers fragments sculptés appartenant au *templon* du *katholikon*. Parmi ceux-ci, le décor végétal d'un petit pilier est composé de rinceaux épais et sinueux, ponctués de trous de trépan ([17]). Ce même motif est utilisé sur les encadrements des portes nord et sud du narthex du monastère d'Hosios Meletios (fig. 4-5). Deux fragments sculptés, appartenant vraisemblablement à l'épistyle du *templon*, sont soulignés dans leur partie inférieure d'une rangée de perles et pirouettes. Ce motif est également visible sur le bord inférieur du linteau surmontant la porte centrale du *katholikon* à Hosios Meletios. Cinq motifs sculptés en relief se détachent sur ce linteau couvert d'une décoration végétale sculptée en méplat. La même technique est utilisée sur un fragment d'épistyle provenant du *templon* du monastère de Sagmata, sur lequel une tresse à trois brins sculptée en haut-relief, émerge d'un fond aux motifs végétaux entrelacés. La fondation du monastère de Sagmata par un disciple de saint Meletios ([18]), explique sans doute cette simili-

(14) A. ORLANDOS, *Δύο βυζαντιναὶ ἐκκλησίαι παρὰ τὸ Κακοσάλεσι*, dans *ABME*, 5 (1939-1940), p. 148-151, fig. 3. Le fragment d'épistyle étudié est actuellement encastré dans les murs du clocher de l'église de la Vierge à Kakosalesi ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, p. 266, pl. 117.

(15) A. ORLANDOS, *Ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ἄμφισσαν ναὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος*, dans *ABME*, 1 (1935), p. 181-196 ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture*, (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, 267 et 292, pl. 118.

(16) A. ORLANDOS, *Ἡ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ μονὴ τοῦ Σαγματᾶ*, dans *ABME* 7 (1951), pp. 72-110 ; L. BOURAS, *Architectural sculpture of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in Greece*, dans *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 7 (1977-1979), pp. 63-72 ; B. KALLIPOLITIS, *Μεσαιωνικὰ Βοιωτίας*, dans *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* (cité AD), 19 (1964), *Χρονικά*, p. 205 ; LAZARIDIS, *Βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Βοιωτίας*, dans *AD*, 27 (1972), *Χρονικά*, pp. 335-339 ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, p. 286 et p. 292, pl. 125.

(17) LAZARIDIS, *op. cit.*, pl. 290-*δ*.

(18) BOURAS, *Architectural Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n.16), p. 67. Cf. également L. PETIT,

tude du décor architectonique entre les *katholika*. D'autres églises, plus éloignées géographiquement du monastère d'Hosios Meletios, présentent un décor architectural semblable. L'église de Samari, à Androussa de Messénie près de la ville de Kalamata, conserve un bel épistyle sculpté provenant du *templon* ([19]). Une rangée de perles et de pirouettes souligne les parties inférieure et supérieure. Ce même motif décoratif est présent sur le linteau central de la porte menant au *naos* d'Hosios Meletios. Sur la partie centrale de cet épistyle, des motifs en relief se détachent sur un fond ornementé sculpté en méplat. Au centre apparaît un arc sous lequel se dresse une croix fleurie, et aux extrémités, un lion et un griffon piétinant chacun un quadrupède. Entre ces motifs, émergent en haut-relief deux cabochons aux surfaces endommagées et deux feuilles d'acanthe aux extrémités recourbées, comme sur le linteau de la porte centrale du *katholikon* à Hosios Meletios. Le torse, les ailes et la queue de chacun des *zodia* sont parcourus de fines incisions parallèles. Un nœud de Salomon ([20]) orne la cuisse du griffon. Le fond comprend divers motifs géométrico-végétaux. Une telle minutie dans le détail décoratif n'est pas visible sur les corps des aigles situés sur le linteau de la porte du monastère. La perfection technique caractérisant les reliefs de l'épistyle de l'église de Samari ainsi que le style des fresques ornant le *naos* ([21]) placent la sculpture architecturale de cette église à la fin du XIIe siècle. Sur l'île d'Andros, deux églises offrent une riche ornementation architecturale datée du XIIe ou du début du XIIIe siècles, comparable à celle du *katholikon* du monastère d'Hosios Meletios. L'église des Archanges à Messaria comporte des encadrements de portes ainsi que des épistyles de *templa*. L'un de ceux-ci porte la date 1153 et les noms de deux fondateurs de l'église : *Κωνσταντῖνος Μοναστηριώτης* et *Εἰρήνη Πράσηνη* ([22]). Le décor de ces épistyles est

Bibliographie des Acolouthies grecques, Bruxelles, 1926 (= *Subsidia hagiographica*, 16), p. 44.

(19) L. BOURAS, *Architectural sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 16), p. 68, pl. 26-29 ; GRABAR, *Sculptures byzantines II*, (*op. cit.* n. 13), p. 99-100, pl. 71 ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, p. 275 et p. 292, pl. 125.

(20) Nœud caractéristique normalement constitué de deux boucles fermées disposées en angle droit et entrelacées, cf. C. BALMELLE, M. BLANCHARD, J. CHRISTOPHE et autres, *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine*, Paris, 1985, pl. 115-d.

(21) H. GRIGORIADOU-GABAGNOLS, *Le décor peint de l'église de Samari en Messénie*, dans *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 20 (1970), pp. 177-196.

(22) A. ORLANDOS, *Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ἄνδρου*, dans *ABME*, 8 (1955-56), p. 1-67 ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, p. 277 et p. 292, pl. 127. L'inscription

géométrico-végétal, rythmé par les trous de trépan comme sur les reliefs d'Hosios Meletios. Les palmettes très stylisées figurées sur les épistyles de cette église, témoignent de la grande habileté des sculpteurs, qui par leurs profondes incisions, donnent une certaine mouvance au décor végétal couvrant le fond du relief, renforcée par l'immobilité des *zodia* se détachant de ce fond en haut-relief. Certaines parties du décor architectural de l'église des Archanges (23) à Melida (plaque de chancel, petits piliers, épistyle du templon) ont été réutilisées pour orner des églises plus récentes de la ville de Messaria ; d'autres reliefs sont conservés au musée d'Andros. Le répertoire de motifs constitués de rubans décrivant des entrelacs, de palmettes stylisées, de rosettes et de *zodia*, déjà observé à Hosios Meletios, se retrouve encore une fois ici. La volonté de couvrir la moindre parcelle de marbre et d'augmenter la plasticité du relief, sont également présents sur les reliefs de l'église des Archanges à Melida. Le décor architectural des églises d'Andros figure parmi les meilleurs exemples de «l'école helladique» au XIIe siècle (24).

L'évolution de la technique du bas-relief, perceptible dans le décor architectural du monastère d'Hosios Meletios, se manifeste clairement sur les reliefs de l'église des Blachernes à Arta, en Épire (25). Trois niveaux de relief se distinguent sur une plaque provenant du sarcophage de Michel II Doukas-Comnène (1230-1266), décorée d'une croix inscrite dans un cercle noué à l'encadrement : le fond couvert de motifs végétaux entrelacés, une croix dont les branches se prêtent au développement d'une ornementation végétale et un ruban esquissant la tresse et l'encadrement. Certains fragments sculptés en marbre, provenant du *templon* de l'église, sont réutilisés comme encadrements des portes extérieures du narthex. Les fragments d'épistyle, employés comme linteau au-dessus de la porte sud du narthex de l'église, sont couverts de palmettes inscrites dans des cercles tangents disposés en entrelacs, de rinceaux et de tresses à trois brins. Au centre, se détachent deux

figurant sur l'épistyle de l'église des Archanges à Andros serait à interpréter comme une évocation des donateurs, membres de l'aristocratie dominante de l'île.

(23) VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 75, p. 279 et p. 292, pl. 128.

(24) Influence artistique de la Grèce centrale due au fait qu'Andros était soumise à l'évêché d'Athènes ; cf. C. BOURAS, M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU et autres, *The Aegean. The epicenter of greek civilization*, Athènes, 1992, p. 142.

(25) A. ORLANDOS, *Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν*, dans *ABME*, 2 (1936), p. 3-50 ; VANDERHEYDE, *Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 5), p. 77, fig. 99.

paons aux cous sinueux noués l'un à l'autre ; et plus loin, un cabochon sur lequel figure un nœud de Salomon. Ici, la finition technique des motifs semble aboutie et maîtrisée. C'est sur un fond déjà plus plastique qu'à Hosios Meletios, qu'apparaissent des motifs en relief d'une exécution atteignant la perfection. Le décor montre une grande souplesse rythmée par les trous de trépan.

La comparaison entre les décors architecturaux des églises et des monastères situés en Grèce aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles montre que l'ornementation sculptée du *katholikon* d'Hosios Meletios se pose comme une étape dans l'évolution générale de la sculpture architecturale qui, à partir du début du XIIe siècle, va se libérer de la deuxième dimension afin d'augmenter la plasticité de son décor.

La concentration en Grèce centrale de monastères dotés d'un riche décor en marbre sculpté, suggère la prospérité économique de cette région. Grâce à ses manufactures de soie implantées dès le VIe siècle, la ville de Thèbes devient un centre important à la période mésobyzantine tant au niveau économique (26) qu'au niveau politique (27). Michel Choniates parle de la production d'étoffes à Thèbes et à Athènes, ainsi que de leur exportation vers Constantinople au XIIe siècle (28). Grâce à cet auteur, évêque d'Athènes dans le dernier quart du XIIe siècle, l'activité commerciale d'Athènes est mieux connue. Dotée d'un port important et d'industries fabriquant de la soie, elle entretient des échanges avec les Vénitiens dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle (29). Ce siècle est aussi caractérisé par un essor littéraire en Grèce. Eustathe de Thessalonique, Michel Choniates, Euthymios Malakès, George Pardos et Jean Apokaukos écrivent des œuvres théologiques, hymnographiques, rhétoriques et historiques. D'autre part, le passé artistique de la Béotie

(26) J. KODER et F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia* (= *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 1), Vienne, 1976, p. 65. G. SAVIDIS, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Θήβα*, dans *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά*, 2 (1988), pp. 33-52, évoque la prospérité commerciale de la ville de Thèbes au XIIe siècle et cite plusieurs sources appuyant son affirmation. A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, dans son sixième chapitre mentionne l'intense activité agricole de Thèbes à partir du Xe siècle.

(27) La *Vie de saint Meletios*, par Nicolas de Méthone, mentionne un «*δοὺξ Θηβῶν*» au XIe-XIIe siècles. Cf. SAVIDIS (*op. cit.* n. 26), p. 37.

(28) S. LAMBROS, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, II, Athènes, 1878-1880, p. 83.

(29) M. SETTON, *Athens in the later Twelfth Century*, dans *Speculum*, 19 (1944), p. 195.

caractérisé par l'édification de l'église de la Vierge et du *katholikon* du monastère d'Hosios Loukas à la fin du xe et dans le premier tiers du xie siècle, a sans doute été un facteur d'impulsion contribuant à la construction de diverses églises à cette période. Les nombreux reliefs conservés dans l'ancien réfectoire du monastère d'Hosios Loukas et provenant des environs de celui-ci, montrent que l'atelier de sculpteurs responsable du décor architectural du *katholikon* a orné des églises des environs. Par ailleurs, la riche collection de reliefs mésobyzantins, conservés au musée de Thèbes, montre l'activité exercée par l'atelier de sculpteurs de cette ville. De plus, l'avènement d'un style particulier propre à la sculpture architecturale des églises de Béotie, de Messénie et de l'île d'Andros, est révélateur du dynamisme de l'Église Orthodoxe dans les provinces, à la veille de l'affaiblissement politique et économique des xiiie et xive siècles à Byzance (30). Ces analogies de style ne sont-elles pas le reflet d'une réalité historique ? L'essor qu'à connu la vie monastique à cette époque (31) et la prise d'indépendance de l'aristocratie provinciale (32) caractérisent la fin du xie et le début du xiie siècle. Face à un pouvoir central repoussant difficilement les dangers extérieurs, les populations locales se regroupent en principautés indépendantes, gouvernées par des magnats locaux issus de familles anciennes (33), susceptibles de promouvoir l'activité artistique de leur propriété.

Les caractéristiques stylistiques et techniques observées sur les reliefs du *katholikon* d'Hosios Meletios, telles le mélange de techniques permettant d'obtenir des reliefs *à deux plans*, la création de nouveaux motifs végétaux, se retrouvent plus tard, sur les fragments du *templon* encastrés dans l'église des Blachernes à Arta et datés du début du xiiie siècle. Le décor architectural du *katholikon* du monastère d'Hosios Meletios apparaît comme une première étape dans l'évolution générale stylistique caractérisant la sculpture des églises de Grèce au début du xiie siècle. L'étude des décors architecturaux des églises de

(30) Le rôle de l'Église Orthodoxe à la fin du xiie et au début du xiiie siècle, est évoqué par J. Herrin, *Realities of byzantine provincial government : Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205*, dans *DOP*, 29 (1975), p. 284.

(31) Sur l'essor des monastères au xie siècle, cf. J. Darrouzès, *Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au xie siècle*, dans *Travaux et mémoires*, 6 (1976), p. 159-176.

(32) Bouras, *Architectural Sculpture* (*op. cit.* n. 16), p. 71.

(33) J. C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* (963-1210), Paris, 1990, p. 447 et p. 479.

la Grèce centrale montre une communauté de style, dont l'origine est à chercher au XIe siècle, lors de l'exécution du décor architectural du *katholikon* du monastère d'Hosios Loukas par des sculpteurs formés à Constantinople. Les reliefs d'Hosios Meletios sont le fruit d'une longue tradition artistique mûrie en Grèce, mais dont les racines et les rapports constants sont à chercher à Constantinople.

Université Catholique de Louvain. Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

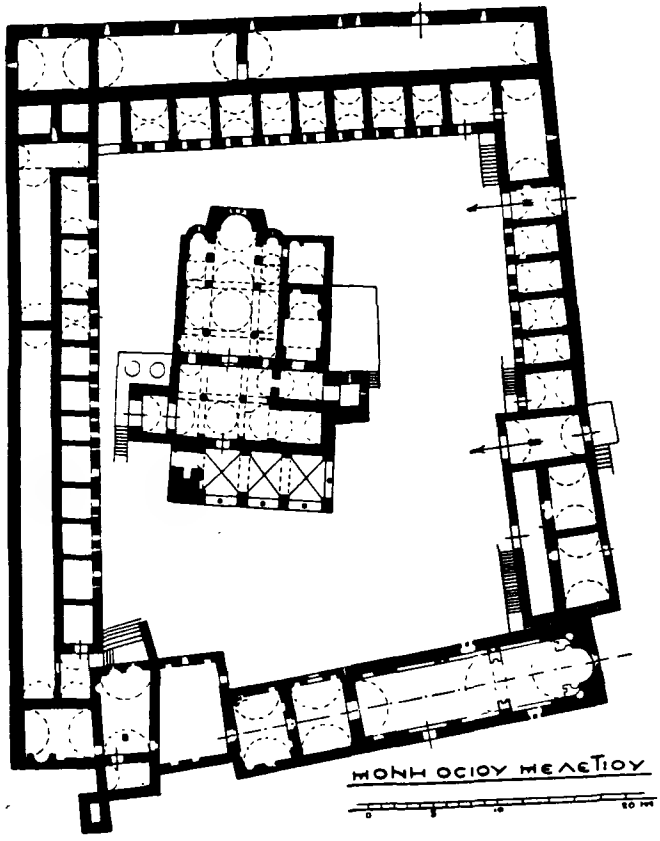


FIG. 1. — Plan du monastère d'Hosios Meletios (d'après A. ORLANDOS, *Μοναστηριακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονική*, Athènes, 1958, p. 14, fig. 8).

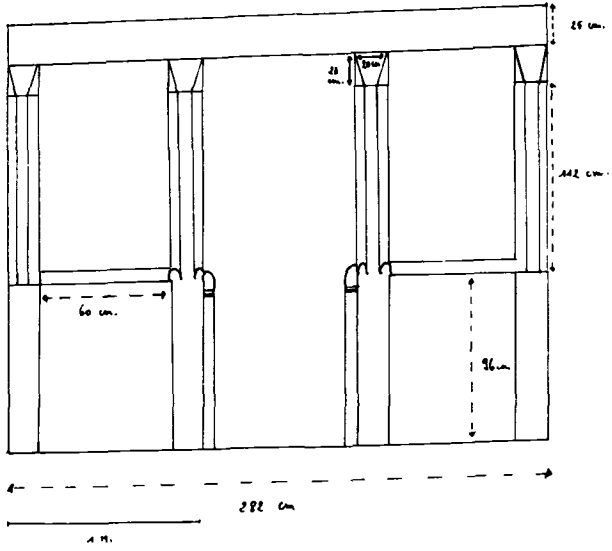


FIG. 2. — Schéma de la partie centrale du *templon*.

CHAR LYDIEN ET *PÉGASE ARGIEN* : UNE CURIEUSE FORMULE LITTÉRAIRE

En consultant la *Vie de S. Élie* le Jeune (1), je me suis heurté à une tournure oratoire inhabituelle : *Τί πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα τὸ Λύδιον ἅρμα ἢ 'Αργεῖος Πήγασος* (2). L'éditeur ne fait aucun commentaire au sujet de cette locution. Voici le contexte du passage en question.

> S. Élie, installé dans le monastère de Salines, reçoit la visite d'une femme dont le beau-fils a été capturé par les Arabes lors de la prise de Reggio le 10 juin 901 (3). Elle demande à Élie de faire une prière en faveur du captif. Élie en la renvoyant chez elle lui dit que les choses vont s'arranger. Trente jours plus tard, le captif a regagné son domicile. Il a raconté que sa libération est due à une action miraculeuse. Une nuit, apparut dans sa cellule un vieillard ; il lui dit être le moine Élie venu à son aide suite à la demande de sa belle-mère et l'incita à s'évader. Après ce récit, le biographe se livre à une série de superlatifs et il s'exclame : «Ce miracle, je le considère comme n'étant pas moindre que celui d'Abacuc. Celui-là a étonné jadis ceux qui y assistaient et a incité la langue des absents à louer Dieu. Mais Abacuc, porté par un ange, a couru de Jérusalem à Babylone en volant pour servir Daniel, tandis que cet homme miraculeux, étant à Salines, par sa seule prière a paru de manière angélique dans la prison et a rétabli à Reggio le prisonnier d'Afrique. Allégé par quelles ailes ? Porté par quel char, comme jadis Élie ? Que peut avoir de miraculeux par rapport à cela le char lydien ou le Pégase argien, si ce n'étaient pas des fables mais la vérité ces contes que les gens admirent et que les Grecs nous ont légués dans leurs histoires ?» (4)

(1) P. YANNOPOULOS, *La Grèce dans la Vie de S. Élie le Jeune et dans la Vie de S. Élie le Spéléote*, dans *Byzantion*, 64 (1994), pp. 193-221.

(2) G. ROSSI TAIBBI, *Vita di Sant' Elia il Giovane (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi e Monumenti, Testi 7 = Vite dei Sancti Siciliani III)*, Palerme, 1962, p. 86, 1170-1171. Nos références à ce texte se font à l'aide de l'abréviation *Vie de S. Élie* et celles aux commentaires sous le sigle ROSSI TAIBBI.

(3) *Vie de S. Élie*, p. 84, 1134-1137. Au sujet de la prise de Reggio par les Arabes en 901, cf. A. A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes, t.II, 1 : La dynastie Macédonienne (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, 2, 1)*, Bruxelles, 1968, p. 143.

(4) *Vie de S. Élie*, p. 84, 1137 à p. 86, 1173.

La tournure n'entrave pas la compréhension du texte ; grâce au contexte, elle est comprise comme «déplacement miraculeux et rapide». Puisque la compréhension intuitive manque de rigueur, la consultation des dictionnaires s'avérait nécessaire. Cette recherche n'a donné aucun résultat : la locution n'y est pas reprise. Pourtant Grégoire de Nazianze, dans son discours funèbre *in laudem Basilii* (*Discours XLIII*), utilise séparément les deux parties de la locution. Dans un premier passage il parle de ses études communes avec Basile ; il signale qu'ils parcouraient le stade des vertus à une allure qui surpassait *τὸν Ἀργεῖον Πήγασον*. Dans un second passage, pour souligner la supériorité spirituelle de Basile, Grégoire note que son ami était un élève tellement doué que nous, pourtant intelligents, comme *πεζοὶ παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα ἐθέομεν* (5). Il est clair que Grégoire utilise ces locutions pour exprimer une vélocité exceptionnelle. Mais cela n'explique ni l'origine des deux locutions, ni leur présence dans un texte hagiographique du xe siècle.

La tournure ayant tous les ingrédients d'un proverbe, le recours aux *Paroemiographi* est plus que nécessaire. Une recherche détaillée prouve qu'aucun auteur ne transmet les deux parties de cette phrase réunies dans un ensemble. Cela incite à rechercher des cas où l'une ou l'autre des deux composantes de la tournure est utilisée séparément.

La locution «char lydien» est mentionnée par Stephanus et par Liddell et Scott. Le premier enregistre l'expression *παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα πεζὸς ἰχνεύων* et note : *prov. dictum volunt pro celeriter currens, a Lydii currus velocitate* (6). Liddell et Scott citent l'expression un peu différemment (*παρὰ τὸ λύδιον ἅρμα θέειν*) dans un sens analogue à celui donné par Stephanus (7). Dans le même sens va aussi la note de Diogenianus, qui cite seulement *παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα* (= par rapport à un char lydien) et explique que cela signifiait *rester loin derrière ou aller lentement* (8). Donc, l'expression «char lydien» toute seule devait signifier *aller très vite*, comme chez Stephanus et Liddell et Scott ou encore comme dans

(5) GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE, *Oratio XLIII*, dans *PG*, vol. 35, col. 524, B12, et col. 525, A4. Les deux passages sont pleins de réminiscences rhétoriques classiques ; ainsi les deux locutions sont parfaitement incorporées dans le contexte.

(6) STEPHANUS, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Paris, 1842-1846, vol. V1, col. 417, s.v. *Λυδός*.

(7) H. LIDDELL et R. SCOTT, A Greek - English Lexicon , nouvelle éd. par H. Jones, Oxford, 1940, s.v. *Λυδός*.

(8) DIOGENIANUS, éd. E. I. a LEUTSCH et E. G. SCHNEIDEWIN, dans *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I, Hildesheim, 1965, vi, 28. GEORGES DE CHYPRE, éd. IBIDEM, ii, 99, reprend le lemme de Diogenianus.

la *Vie de S. Élie*. Cette signification est soutenue de manière indirecte par Macarius, qui lors de la citation du proverbe *ὁ Λυδὸς τὴν ὄνον ἐλαύνει* explique qu'il était proféré pour les personnes entreprenant des actions inférieures à leurs capacités. Car, dit-il, les Lydiens étaient de grands amateurs de chevaux (9). Apostolius enregistre un autre proverbe, assez courant : *Λυδὸν εἰς πεδίον ἴσθι προσκαλούμενος*, utilisé dans le sens de *vouloir faire quelque chose très vite* (10). Ces remarques indiquent que les Lydiens étaient réputés pour leur vélocité et leur habileté lors des courses hippiques. La compréhension intuitive du passage de la *Vie de S. Élie* est assurée au moins pour sa première partie.

Pour la locution «Pégase argien», Apostolius rapporte l'expression *Πηγάσου ταχύτερος* utilisée dans le sens de *vélocité extraordinaire*. Le compilateur explique que l'expression vient du cheval mythique de Bellérophon (11). Le même auteur note que pour exprimer deux réalités diamétralement opposées, on pouvait utiliser la locution *χελώνην Πηγάσῳ κρίνεις* (12). Zénobius aussi, à propos de l'expression *Βελλεροφόντης τὰ γράμματα*, signale que Pégase était le symbole de la rapidité (13). Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que Pégase soit pris par le biographe de S. Élie comme emblème de la vitesse, comme d'ailleurs par Grégoire de Nazianze. Mais pourquoi Pégase est-il qualifié d'«argien» ? La seule explication plausible paraît être celle qui renvoie à la naissance merveilleuse de ce cheval, né du sang de la Méduse que l'Argien Persée a tué.

Une évidence se dégage : l'expression, telle que la *Vie de S. Élie* la présente, semble être ignorée par les écrivains avant le xᵉ siècle. Une recherche vers la littérature hagiographique et édifiante de la fin du ixᵉ siècle/début du xiᵉ siècle, a permis de localiser l'expression dans l'*Éloge de S. Photius de Thessalie* (14), texte considéré comme postérieur à la fin du xᵉ siècle (15). Dans ce texte aussi, la locution n'entrave pas la compréhension ; elle suggère un «déplacement miraculeux».

(9) Macarius, éd. E. I. a Leutsch, dans *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, II, Hildesheim, 1965, vi, 28

(10) Apostolius, éd. Ibidem, x, 81. Manuel Paleologue, *Διάλογος ἠθικός ἢ περὶ γάμου*, éd. A. Angelou (*Byzantina Vindobonensia, XIX*), Vienne, 1991, p. 74, 270, utilise l'expression *πεδίον Λυδόν*.

(11) Apostolius, xiv, 28.

(12) Apostolius, xviii, 24.

(13) Zenobius, éd. cf. n. 8, ii, 87.

(14) Édition et traduction russe par l'évêque Arsenij (Ivascenko), *Pohvaljnoe Slovo Sv. Fotijo Thessalijskomou*, Novgorod, 1897.

(15) Cf. *BHG*, n° 1545. Cfr aussi Enrica Follieri, *Vita di San Fantino il Giovane*

L'auteur du texte après avoir exposé les raisons de sa rédaction, dans une longue introduction, exploite les lieux communs de la patrie et de la famille du saint ([16]). Dans un style très oratoire et très élaboré, il signale au sujet de Photius que «la patrie qui l'a engendré c'est la fameuse Thessalie, ce sol chaste qui à présent ne nourrit plus des jeunes hommes hardis et belliqueux, qui ne produit pas non plus des chevaux bons pour des parades et des guerres, malgré le fait qu'il abritait jadis les Aeniates et les Myrmidons, les dèmes des Erechides et des Aeacides, les Pélasges et les Phthiotides, dont plusieurs sont appelés dans les écrits des Grecs tueurs d'hommes et personnes au cœur de lion, si tout cela n'était pas que des fables» ([17]). Ensuite, l'auteur parle de la jeunesse de son héros pour dire que Photius, dès son jeune âge, est entré dans les ordres. Comme moine, il se désintéressait complètement de la pensée philosophique et des connaissances théoriques. Pour lui l'essentiel restait la pratique monastique ([18]). Très vite il est devenu un champion des vertus ascétiques, de sorte que chacun pouvait apercevoir «l'élan incomparable avec lequel il parcourait le stade des vertus et considérer comme radotage le char lydien de Thésée et le Pégase argien et le vol de Persée vers la Gorgone en comparaison avec la vitesse et la vélocité spirituelles de celui-ci, comme un vainqueur de jeux olympiques qui a dominé le pentathlon et a parfaitement terminé le pancrace» ([19]).

Manifestement, ce texte est plus explicite. L'auteur par une série de références à la mythologie grecque tente une comparaison oratoire lui permettant de souligner davantage l'élan de son héros vers l'idéal monastique. Dans ce but, il exploite trois locutions proverbiales, dont deux seulement et même amputées ont été utilisées dans la *Vie de S. Élie* . De ces trois références, la première renvoie au cycle mythique de Thésée et les deux autres au cycle de Persée. Toutefois, l'*Éloge de S. Photius de Thessalie* crée plus de problèmes qu'il n'en peut résoudre, car l'origine des locutions reste obscure ([20]). Il semble que celles

(*Subsidia Hagiographica*, n° 77), Bruxelles, 1993, pp. 80-81. Pour les références à ce texte, nous utilisons l'abréviation : *Éloge*.

(16) *Éloge*, p. 7, 9 à p. 8, 13.

(17) *Éloge*, p. 7, 13-26.

(18) *Éloge*, p. 8, 3 à p. 10, 33.

(19) *Éloge*, p. 10, 38 à p. 11, 7.

(20) Cela oblige l'éditeur à faire une de ses rares scolies (p. 11, note 1), où il explique que les Lydiens étaient d'excellents cavaliers et que Pégase était un cheval ailé de la mythologie grecque. L'auteur de l'*Éloge* semble bien connaître la mythologie au sujet de Pégase, car à la p. 22, 2-6, il parle de la source d'Hippocrène, mais aussi de la source sur le Mont Parnasse, indiquant ainsi qu'il a connaissance de deux versions du mythe.

qui se rapportent au mythe de Persée ont pour origine la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode (21). Pour la troisième, il est impossible de savoir d'où l'auteur la tire (22).

Devant deux textes qui utilisent une tournure rhétorique aussi rare, on est tenté de faire des rapprochements entre les deux. Sortent-ils de la même main ? S'agit-il de deux auteurs, dont l'un a consulté le travail de l'autre ? Puisent-ils à une source commune ? S'agit-il du fait du hasard ? Voici quelques questions qui se posent et auxquelles il faut donner une réponse.

Les deux textes, à part le fait d'appartenir au genre hagiographique, n'ont pas de points communs. La *Vie de S. Élie le Jeune* est un texte hagiographique classique, rédigé en Calabre, entre 930 et 940 par un moine qui, selon tous les indices, était d'origine calabraise (23).

Le second texte n'est pas une biographie, mais un discours panégyrique, prononcé à Thessalonique (24), après la mort de S. Photius (25). L'orateur, un moine qui vivait à Thessalonique (26), s'adresse à la communauté monastique du monastère dont Photius était higoumène (27). Il a prononcé son éloge à l'occasion d'une fête organisée à la mémoire de Photius (28). Ce texte est anonyme et non daté, mais les repères

(21) Hésiode, *Théogonie*, 274-281 : Persée, portant des sandales ailées, a volé jusqu'au bout de l'océan où dormaient les trois Gorgones ; il a pu décapiter Méduse, la seule mortelle parmi les trois ; de son sang est né Pégase ; Persée, pour échapper aux deux autres Gorgones a monté Pégase et s'est éloigné.

(22) Le seul char mentionné dans le cycle de Thésée est celui procuré par Diane à Hippolyte pour fuir la fureur de son père après les fausses accusations de Phèdre. Selon la version la plus courante du mythe, celle qu'exploite d'ailleurs Euripide, *Hippolyte, passim*, le jeune Hippolyte a trouvé la mort sur ce char quand un génie marin envoyé par Poséidon, père de Thésée, a effrayé les chevaux qui tiraient le char.

(23) Rossi Taibbi, p. xviii. La question fut lancée par Loparev qui dans *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 19 (1912, publié en 1915), p. 129 ss., attribua ce texte au moine Savas, mentionné deux fois dans la *Vie de S. Élie*, p. 92, 1267-126, et p. 94, 1273. Les conclusions de Loparev sont connues grâce au rapport de L. Bréhier, *L'hagiographie byzantine aux viiie et ixe siècles*, dans *Journal des Savants*, 1916, p. 358, p. 450, et 1917, p. 13. G. Da Costa-Louillet, *Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux viiie, ixe et xe siècles*, dans *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959-1960), pp. 95-96 et p. 101, pense que l'auteur de la Vie n'est autre que Daniel, élève et compagnon de S. Élie. Mais comme Rossi-Taibbi, p. xvii, le prouve, Daniel était mort au moment de la rédaction.

(24) *Éloge*, p. 29, 1-16.

(25) *Éloge*, 30,31, et p. 31,4-5.

(26) *Éloge*, p. 20,40 à p. 21,9 : l'auteur vivait à Thessalonique depuis longtemps, et p. 29, 1-25, la connaissait très bien.

(27) *Éloge*, p. 32, 1-5.

(28) *Éloge*, p. 32, 5-9.

chronologiques qu'il contient permettent d'avancer une date. L'auteur signale que Photius vivait à Thessalonique au moment du soulèvement des Bulgares, vers 976 ([29]). Il y vivait toujours quand les armées byzantines ont connu une défaite cuisante près de Sardique, le 16 août 986 ([30]). En 991, Basile II est arrivé à Thessalonique et a rencontré Photius, qui avait déjà un âge avancé ([31]), mais il était encore en mesure d'accompagner Basile dans ses opérations balkaniques ([32]) qui ont duré quatre ans ([33]). Quand elles ont pris fin, vers 994, par une victoire byzantine ([34]), Basile est revenu à Constantinople et Photius à Thessalonique ([35]). Photius y a reçu un *Chrysobulle* impérial lui octroyant une donation importante en guise de remerciement pour son soutien moral ([36]). Ce document peut être daté du début de l'année 995, car le printemps de cette même année, Basile a quitté la capitale pour

(29) *Éloge*, p. 23, 10-23. Selon l'opinion courante, ce passage rapporte les événements survenus entre 976 et l'entreprise des opérations militaires par Basile II contre les Bulgares, vers 986. Cf. D. ZAKYTHINOS, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία*, Athènes, 1972, p. 428, FOLLIERI *op. cit.*, n. 15), pp. 80-81.

(30) Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Histoire de l'État byzantin*, traduction française par J. GOUILLARD, Paris, 1969, pp. 326-327. L'*Éloge*, p. 23, 2 à p. 24,9, parle d'une grande défaite de l'armée byzantine commandée par l'empereur en personne, mais aussi d'autres défaites successives, d'une importance moindre. Cf. à ce propos, ZAKYTHINOS, (*op. cit.*, n. 29), p. 428.

(31) *Éloge*, p. 24,9 à p. 26,32. Basile a quitté Constantinople pour les Balkans, en février ou mars 941, après OSTROGORSKY (*op. cit.*, n. 30), p. 333, et ZAKYTHINOS (*op. cit.*, n. 29), p. 429. FOLLIERI (*op. cit.*, n. 15), pp. 80-81, place l'arrivée de Basile à Thessalonique, en 990, admettant la date peu probable proposée jadis par G. SCHLUMBERGER, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, IIème partie : *Basile II le tueur de Bulgares*, Paris, 1900, pp. 46-47, et reprise par P. LEMERLE, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 158)*, Paris, 1945, p. 145.

(32) *Éloge*, p. 26,35 à p. 27,4. La présence de Photius parmi les soldats du corps expéditionnaire, mais surtout les remarques faites à ce propos par le rédacteur de ce texte, mettent à rude épreuve les conclusions d'Athéna KOLIA-DERMITZAKI, *Ὁ βυζαντινὸς «ἱερὸς πόλεμος» (Ἱστορικὲς Μονογραφίες, 10)*, Athènes, 1991, pp. 380-393, selon lesquelles les Byzantins ne déclaraient pas la guerre sainte contre d'autres chrétiens.

(33) ZAKYTHINOS (*op. cit.*, n. 29), p. 429.

(34) Les opérations de Basile dans les Balkans sont très mal connues à cause du mutisme des sources. Les historiens exploitent des sources orientales pour dire que les Bulgares ont été battus à plusieurs reprises cf. OSTROGORSKY (*op. cit.*, n. 30), pp. 333-334, ZAKYTHINOS (*op. cit.*, n. 29), p. 429. L'*Éloge*, p. 27, 5-6, va dans le même sens en affirmant que Basile a mis fin au soulèvement bulgare.

(35) *Éloge*, p. 27, 6-11.

(36) *Éloge*, p. 27, 11-28, est très explicite à ce propos. Sur le document, il y avait *χρυσῇ σφραγὶς ... καὶ ... διὰ γραμμάτων ἐρυθροβαφῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος ὑποσήμανσις*. Le document, à part les remerciements contenait les *βασιλικὰ δωρήματα*.

le front syrien (37). La mort de Photius doit alors être située après la réception de ce document (38). Mais les auditeurs de l'*Éloge* avaient connu Photius en tant qu'higoumène (39). Photius donc n'était pas mort depuis longtemps. L'orateur, dans une apostrophe rhétorique, parle de villes situées à l'est de Thessalonique, jusqu'à l'Hellespont, qui, jadis glorieuses et heureuse, *νῦν ἀντ' εὐκλεῶν κατέστησαν δυστυχεῖς* (40). Une telle situation ne peut être que celle créée vers le mois d'août 1002, quand Samuel de Bulgarie a entrepris une opération de diversion. Il a attaqué la Macédoine orientale et la Thrace, a pillé la région et a occupé Andrinople afin d'obliger Basile à se retirer de Vidin qu'il assiégeait (41). L'*Éloge* est alors rédigé et prononcé en 1002, c'est-à-dire plus d'un demi siècle après la rédaction de la *Vie de S. Élie le Jeune*. Nous pouvons dès lors affirmer que ce deux textes ne sortent pas de la même main.

L'hypothèse d'une contamination directe entre les deux textes peut être formulée dans un seul sens, car seul le rédacteur de l'*Éloge* pourrait avoir consulté la *Vie de S. Élie*. Or, les différences entre les deux textes sont telles qu'une pareille hypothèse n'a aucune chance de correspondre aux faits réels. Comme Rossi Taibbi l'observe, l'instruction de l'auteur de la *Vie* était celle qu'on recevait dans les monastères : patristique et hagiographique avec quelques rudiments théologiques (42). Par contre, l'auteur de l'*Éloge* sans être ignorant des Écritures ou des Pères de l'Église, possédait encore une bonne formation théologique (43), une solide connaissance de la langue classique et une érudition remarquable

(37) Cf. Ostrogorsky (*op. cit.*, n. 30), p. 334.

(38) *Éloge*, p. 27, 13-28, ne laisse aucun doute : Photius avait lui-même reçu ce document à Thessalonique.

(39) *Éloge*, p. 35, 5-6 : l'orateur dans une apostrophe rhétorique s'adresse à Photius et lui demande de protéger la communauté monastique qui, même après sa mort, lui appartient. Voici le texte : *ἄνωθεν τὸ σὸν τοῦτο ποίμνιον ἐποπτεύεις · σὸν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ μετὰ σέ.*

(40) *Éloge*, p. 14, 6-7.

(41) Ostrogorsky (*op. cit.*, n. 30), pp. 334-335 ; Zakythinos, (*op. cit.*, n. 29), pp. 432-433.

(42) Rossi Taibbi, pp. xxi-xxii.

(43) L'éditeur n'a pas fait un relevé systématique des passages scripturaires. Aux 52 passages identifiés, il y a moyen d'en ajouter encore trois ou quatre. L'auteur évoque en outre «l'orthodoxie» et monte aux créneaux contre des personnes qu'il appelle parfois «opposées», parfois, «loups», ou encore «ennemis du Christ» et «marchands de piété» (cfr *Éloge*, p. 6, 28, p. 29, p. 21, 13-14), mais il ne dit pas explicitement de qui il s'agit.

dans les domaines de la mythologie et de l'histoire ancienne (44). Certes, dans un artifice oratoire, il déclare ne pas croire aux mythes et de ce fait ne pas être un «ami des Muses» (45), mais cela ne l'empêchait pas de manifester son admiration pour l'antiquité grecque (46). Il est impossible qu'un tel auteur ait copié de la *Vie de S. Élie* les expressions classicisantes qu'il utilise. D'ailleurs, le texte de l'*Éloge* contient plus d'éléments que la *Vie de S. Élie*, indice irréfutable de son indépendance. La mise en parallèle de deux passages démontre l'absence de parenté directe entre l'*Éloge* et la *Vie de S. Élie*.

Vie de S. Élie	*Éloge*
Τί πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα τὸ Λύδιον ἅρμα ἢ Ἀρθεῖος Πήγασος, εἰ τάχα καὶ μὴ μῦθος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια, ἃ θαυμάζουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἱστορίαις παραδεδώκασιν Ἕλληνες.	*ὡς λῆρον εἶναι τὸ Θησέως Λύδιον ἅρμα καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Πήγασον, καὶ τὴν Περσέως πτῆσιν διὰ Γοργοῦς πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐδρομίαν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ταχύτητα, ὥσπερ δέ τις ὀλυμπιονίκης κρατήσας τὸν πένταθλον καὶ διηνυκὼς ἄριστα τὸ παγκράτιον.*

La comparaison des deux passages permet de dire avec certitude que l'auteur de l'*Éloge* n'avait pas pour modèle la *Vie de S. Élie* et d'exclure ainsi toute idée de contamination directe.

Il est beaucoup plus difficile de dire si les deux auteurs ont puisé dans une source commune. Rossi Taibbi fait un relevé systématique de sources qui, les Écritures mises à part, ont servi à l'auteur de la *Vie de S. Élie* (47). Un tel travail n'a pas été fait pour l'*Éloge*. Un examen rapide toutefois permet de dire qu'à part les Écritures, le seul écrivain consulté par les deux auteurs paraît être Grégoire de Nazianze, qui

(44) L'*Éloge*, à part l'énumérations des anciens habitants de Thessalie (p. 7, 15-25), et l'emploi des trois locutions (p. 10, 4, à p. 11, 3), parle encore ou fait allusion aux jeux olympiques (p. 11, 5-7), à la source de Castalie (p. 21, 19-22), aux eaux du Styx (p. 21, 22-26), à la source de Pégase sur le Mont Parnasse (p. 22, 16), au char du soleil (p. 22, 10-12), cite les villes de Macédoine avec leurs noms antiques (p. 14, 2-6), les Bulgares avec le nom de Mysiens (p. 25, 10), Constantinople avec le nom de Byzance (p. 26, 25) utilise un proverbe antique (p. 16, 19), tandis qu'il fait encore des allusions moins directes que nous avons pas jugé utile d'énumérer.

(45) *Éloge*, p. 22, 17-19.

(46) *Éloge*, p. 7, 14-25 : l'auteur parle avec une admiration sincère de la Thessalie antique.

(47) Rossi Taibbi, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

est le seul auteur chrétien à avoir utilisé les deux parties de cette formule rhétorique ([48]). Or, les locutions qui font l'objet de cette recherche ne pouvaient pas provenir directement de ce Père. D'abord Grégoire utilise séparément les deux parties ; la probabilité que les deux auteurs ont réuni ces deux parties de la même façon est nulle. Ensuite, l'auteur de l'*Éloge* fait état du vol de Thésée, ignoré par Grégoire. Il est donc aberrant de chercher une source commune consultée directement par les deux rédacteurs. Vu la rareté de la tournure en question, qui n'autorise pas à la considérer comme un lieu commun, nous devons admetre qu'elle est utilisée par ces deux auteurs de façon indépendante.

Passant à la loupe l'*Éloge de S. Photius* nous pouvons tirer certaines conclusions qui peuvent à leur tour amorcer une réponse. Son auteur était quelqu'un pour qui la langue classique n'avait pas de secrets. Son admiration pour la Grèce antique paraît aussi inconditionnelle, tandis qu'il passe sous silence toute la tradition latine. Son texte est truffé de réminiscences classiques, de mots archaïsants et de noms antiques. Mais, chose curieuse, il n'y a aucune référence textuelle à un auteur classique, comme il y a par exemple des références scripturaires ou patristiques ([49]). Cela fait penser à un encyclopédiste érudit qui ne négligeait pas l'occasion d'exhiber ses connaissances. Dans son effort pour impressionner, il charge son introduction de trouvailles rhétoriques, de syntagmes recherchés, d'exemples élaborés. C'est un véritable exercice de style d'allure académique fait par un connaisseur du genre qui pèse bien les ingrédients avant de les mélanger. Sa rédaction fait penser au ch. 21 du *Discours XLIII* de Grégoire de Nazianze. Or, malgré ses efforts, le discours reste froid et artificiel, pompeux et enflé. L'auteur est même maladroit dans le passage où il utilise les locutions qui font l'objet de cette étude. Il donne l'impression de vouloir coûte que coûte introduire cet artifice oratoire, mais son contexte s'y prêtait mal. Il force alors son discours et fait appel à une métaphore lui permettant l'emploi de ces locutions. Procédant de la sorte, il se voit obligé de laisser de

(48) L'auteur de la *Vie*, p. 46, 624-625, et p. 52, 686-687 exploite l'*Éloge à S. Basile* de Grégoire de Nazianze ; l'*Éloge*, p. 6, 39 à p. 7, 1, se réfère au même discours ; mais il exploite un passage totalement différent.

(49) En réalité, l'*Éloge* est truffé de passages scripturaires, que son auteur utilise d'ailleurs très librement. Les passages patristiques sont de loin plus rares. L'éditeur en signale (p. 31) un de Grégoire de Nysse et deux de Grégoire de Nazianze, auxquels il faut ajouter la référence aussi à Grégoire de Nazianze mentionnée dans la n. 48.

côté la tournure «si tout cela n'était que des fables», car elle ne colle pas avec sa métaphore (50). N'ayant nullement l'intention de laisser cette phrase, il la récupère dans un autre endroit de son discours, quand il parle des anciens habitants de Thessalie (51). Ces éléments paraissent faire partie de l'arsenal du bon rhéteur, qui devait les ajuster et les adapter selon les circonstances. On dirait que le rédacteur avait à sa disposition un «guide du bon orateur» contenant les règles de composition d'un bon discours et dictant les artifices oratoires qu'il pouvait utiliser.

L'auteur de la *Vie de S. Élie* fait en réalité la même chose. Toutefois, n'ayant pas l'intention de revendiquer des lauriers rhétoriques, il met beaucoup plus l'accent sur le merveilleux et le romanesque. Il ne s'agissait pas pour autant d'une personne inculte ; sa langue soignée, sa richesse lexicale et syntaxique indiquent un homme possédant une bonne formation, mais moins attiré par l'antiquité grecque, tandis que le passé latin semble lui échapper aussi. Il utilise les deux locutions de manière plus astucieuse que l'auteur de l'*Éloge* et les encadre naturellement dans le contexte. C'est la preuve qu'il n'ignorait pas les règles de la rhétorique et qu'il pouvait employer correctement des tournures d'origine classique. Pourtant dans l'œuvre, ces deux locutions restent des corps étrangers, une note pittoresque, un grain archaïsant. Il n'y a pas de doute qu'elles proviennent ici aussi d'un manuel contenant les «bonnes règles» de la rhétorique.

Il est temps de conclure. Une tournure oratoire inhabituelle dans un texte hagiographique du xe siècle nous a obligés à effectuer une recherche en profondeur. L'origine de la locution semble être le *Discours XLIII* de Grégoire de Nazianze mais l'auteur de la *Vie de S. Élie* n'a pas puisé directement dans ce discours. La présence de cette tournure, sous une forme plus développée, dans un autre texte du début du xie siècle et du même genre littéraire, a permis une comparaison des deux cas. L'indépendance des deux textes est hors de doute ; ils ne sont pas dus au même auteur et il n'y a contamination ni directe ni indirecte entre eux. Cette tournure rare est due, selon tous les indices, à l'existence d'un manuel destiné aux personnes qui voulaient rédiger un discours. Elle contenait, entre autres choses, des exemples et des

(50) Par contre, dans la *Vie*, p. 86, 1170-1171, la phrase est parfaitement adaptée.
(51) *Éloge*, p. 8, 25-26.

locutions archaïsantes, dont l'emploi donnait de l'éclat et une couche de vernis classique au discours ; des extraits tirés du *Discours XLIII* de S. Grégoire de Nazianze y figuraient aussi. De tels artifices étaient appréciés aussi bien par les érudits et les amoureux de l'antiquité, tel l'auteur de l'*Éloge de S. Photius de Thessalie* que par des moines austères, tel l'auteur de la *Vie de S. Élie le Jeune*. Dès le xe siècle, le classicisme coulait dans les veines des Byzantins.

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MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS

BYZANTINE HERMENEUTICS AFTER ICONOCLASM : WORD AND IMAGE IN THE LEO BIBLE

The eunuch Leo, patrician, court chamberlain, and treasurer, commissioned, around 940, a two-volume Bible as a gift to an unidentified monastery of St. Nicholas in order to receive the favor of the saint and the Virgin (1). Although only the first volume of this Bible, *Vat. Reg. Gr.* 1, has survived, the extent of Leo's piety (or wealth) is evident in the lavish and striking full-page miniatures that generally precede the Bible books (2). The Leo Bible's most distinctive feature, however, are epigrams that run around the miniatures' borders. An addition in a later hand described their purpose :

> One should know that in each story, that is, for each of the holy images that has been represented ... metric iambic verses run around on the four borders explaining as clearly as possible, in summary, the meaning of what is represented (3).

These epigrams, in fact, go beyond simple description ; they are a commentary, a self-conscious effort to delineate the exegetical and theo-

(1) See Cyril MANGO, "The Date of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'", *Acta ad archeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 4 (1969) : 121-26 ; for previous datings, see *ibid.*, 123, n. 4.

(2) For the description of the manuscript, see T. MATHEWS, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1", *Orientalia christiana periodica* 43 (1977) : 94-133 ; R. CORMACK, "Painting after Iconoclasm", *Iconoclasm. Papers given the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (University of Birmingham, March, 1975)*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin, Birmingham, 1977, pp. 6-7.

(3) MATHEWS ; 99. The translations used for the Leo Bible are generally, but not exclusively those supplied by Mathews.

logical assumptions behind the iconography (4). The Leo Bible thus provides an apparatus for examining not simply iconographic evolution, but the relationship between image and text, its cultural implications, and the sources of Byzantine culture in the tenth-century.

The rare quality of the miniatures has, not surprisingly, attracted attention : their "painterly" style, "classical" personifications, and adaptation of iconographic "archetypes" have led scholars to identify Leo's votive offering as evidence of a cultural dynamic that inspired one of Byzantium's periodic classical revivals, the "Macedonian Renaissance" (5). But the analysis of the Leo Bible challenges not only that a renaissance began in the late ninth century, but the cultural model that defines it.

Undoubtedly, Macedonian culture incorporates a revival of classical forms and styles in literature and art. But does the imitation of classical forms constitute a self-conscious effort to assert classical aesthetic and cultural values ? Is Macedonian culture merely a reiteration of an ahistorical classicism, that dialectically enters and exits Byzantine culture, or did it evolve directly out of the theological, aesthetic and cultural impact of the immediately preceding iconoclasm ? Should we attribute the cultural florescence that created the Leo Bible to a rejection of Byzantium's preceding cultural and intellectual history or to its historical continuity ? This paper, arguing for continuity, will follow a Byzantine theology of language developed by the iconodules during the iconoclastic controversy, to trace its effects in literature and art, and examine its cultural implications and influence in the late ninth and tenth centuries.

(4) This is a characteristic Byzantine description of the purpose of art. The Seventh Ecumenical Council defined religious art not as "the invention of painters", but the "approved legislation of the universal church", see J. D. MANSI, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence, 1767, 13 : 252.

(5) For the use of the Leo Bible as evidence for a Renaissance, see H. BUCHTHAL, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter : A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, London, 1938 : 73-75 ; K. WEITZMANN, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago, 1971 : 128, n. 9, 138-46, 157-63, 176-223. For a critique of this view, see MATHEWS : 94-133 ; C. MANGO, *Byzantium The Empire of New Rome*, New York, 1980 : 272-73 ; and R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold : Byzantine Society and its Icons*, Oxford, 1985 : 141-78 ; *ibid.*, "Patronage and New Programs of Byzantine Iconography", *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers, (Washingon, D.C., August, 1986)*, Caratzas, 1986, pp. 623-27. Mango in particular called the Renaissance style "pseudo-classical".

We will examine four of the Leo Bible miniatures, but our analysis will concentrate on the miniature of Moses on Sinai. It is especially interesting, for it is the first extant expression of a new iconography that begins only after iconoclasm. Early Christian art usually averted Moses' head from the sight of God, perhaps following the injunction of *Exodus* 33 : 20-23 that no man can see the face of God and live. The Moses who looks away is found as early as the late fourth- of fifth-century Pyxis Basilewski, and the fifth-century doors of St. Sabina (6). This Moses also dominates monumental art and is found in the sixth-century apses of St. Catherine and San Vitale, and a number of manuscripts that preserved the earlier iconography (7) (fig. 1 and 3). This Sinai scene, both in early Byzantine art and in its later manuscript manifestations, is, moreover, generally, bare of qualifying iconographic details : Moses stands alone, receiving the Law from God. A new Moses type, however, came to dominate post-iconoclastic art : the Moses who looks toward rather than away from God, and who occupies the central position in a fully articulated iconographic scheme (8) (fig. 2).

Let us, then, first survey the scholarship in order to understand how the assumptions that scholars have brought to their analysis of Macedonian culture have distorted its historical definition. Then we shall follow the exegetical evolution of the Sinai revelation through the "golden age" and "iconodule" theologians in the larger theological framework of text and image. In the light of this evolution, we shall find in the Leo Bible miniatures and epigrams the visual echo of post-iconoclastic theology. Our iconographic analysis of the Leo Bible will conclude with the miniature and epigram of the Sinai scene itself :

(6) The early Christian sarcophagi are divided in their presentation of Moses. It is not uncommon for Moses to set his eyes on God when he receives the law, but this iconography, like most sarcophagus iconography, is poorly articulated, and it is likely that the workshops simply adopted the Horeb revelation as a model, see BUCHTHAL : 33-34.

(7) This iconography survived into post-iconoclastic art and is found in the ninth-century *Paris Gregory*, the Cosmas Indicopleustes manuscripts, *Vat. gr.* 699 and St. Cath. gr. 1186, and the twelfth-century *Athens Ms.* 15 and *Topkapi Saray Cod.* 8.

(8) See the remarks of H. BUCHTHAL, "The Exaltation of David", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) : 330-33, whose conclusion is that the Paris Psalter's iconography was most like a product of the court atelier of Constantine IX in the midtenth century, or L. BRUBAKER, "Politics, Patronage and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium : The *Homilies* of Gregory Nanzianzus in Paris (B.N. 510)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985) : 1-13, who demonstrates the idiosyncratic character of the *Homilies*.

above all, the manipulation of iconographic elements in the Leo Bible, and its comparison with the iconographic alternatives that other Sinai miniatures chose. Finally, we will relate the iconographic innovations of post-iconoclastic manuscript illumination to the post-iconoclastic new theology of language.

I. *"Perennial Hellenism" and "Golden Age" Theology*

A first effort to co-ordinate the study of the miniatures and their epigrams was attempted by T. Mathews, who astutely recognized the unique opportunity that this manuscript presents (9). Unfortunately, Mathews's interpretation of the theological and exegetical contexts of the epigrams is often hampered by an exaggerated reliance on the "golden age" fathers of the fourth, fifth, sixth and even earlier centuries, and a corresponding neglect of Leo's contemporaries, whose theology was shaped by the iconoclastic controversy and differs sharply from the earlier period (10). His reliance on authors who wrote four hundred or more years before the Leo Bible hindered his articulation of the Leo Bible's relationship between image and text and the cultural implications this might have. His dependence on early theologians, and the implied dismissal of potential theological and intellectual changes wrought by iconoclasm presented Leo's epigrams in a historical vaccum, and led to the conclusion :

> The epigrams, moreover, considered against the history of Byzantine exegesis, are by no means merely derivative. Far from collecting or parroting currently available material, Leo Sakellarios seems to be seriously engaged in an attempt to carry forward the work of exegesis in an original way (11).

Leo's epigrams certainly differ in their theological emphasis from the late antique sources that dominate Mathew's analysis but it should not be surprising that Leo's epigrams appear original after three

(9) Mathews makes an important contribution to the "archeological" analysis of the manuscript. He convincingly rejects the "archetype" model of iconographic construction, and argues that the Leo Bible's iconography is more than their copying or culling, see 122-23.

(10) MATHEWS : 101. Mathews accurately assesses the lack of secondary material on these later authors and thereafter largely dismisses them from his analysis.

(11) MATHEWS : 122-23.

centuries of exegetical innovations. As we shall see, Leo was hardly an original theologian. Rather, it is his very conventionality, his *lack* of originality and rote recitation of contemporary theological clichés, that illustrates the dramatic changes that iconoclasm imposed on Byzantine theology, and how little, in fact, the theological perspective of Macedonian art owed to pre-iconoclastic patristic sources.

By and large, however, Mathews' historical overview reflects the majority opinion of scholars, both historians and art historians, who see iconoclasm as an aberration in the continuity of the "classical" tradition in Byzantium, which the succeeding "Macedonian Renaissance" restored. These scholars follow an implicit, and sometimes explicit, model of Byzantine cultural development : periodically, Byzantine Hellenism or classicism successfully overcame its "medieval" historical context and coalesced as a "Renaissance".

The scholars who favor this model of cultural conflict find the Macedonian "Renaissance" an especially sympathetic field of study, for the victorious iconodules also presented their victory as a victory of culture over iconoclast "ignorance". George the Monk best expressed the general iconodule indictment of the iconoclasts' cultural level (and the polemical character of iconodule rhetoric), in his narrative of a bonfire built by the iconoclast emperor Leo III on which he threw not only precious manuscripts, but their readers as well ([12]). The iconodules called their enemies Judaizers or "saracen-minded" enemies of culture, who were themselves ignorant and opposed literary and intellectual endeaver, and represented iconoclasm as a war on culture ([13]).

Modern echoes of George the Monk range from Warren Treadgold, who uncritically accepts Photius' assertion that the iconoclasts judged books "useless" ([14]), to George Ostrogorsky, André Grabar and L. W. Barnard, who repeat the iconodule charges of semitism against

(12) GEORGE THE MONK, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1904, 2 : 742.

(13) See W. Treadgold's analysis of the iconoclasts in *The Byzantine Revival 780-842*, Stanford, 1988 : 57-58, "The iconoclast emperors had little interest in patronage", and "their interest in culture was marginal", See also D. OLSTER, "Review of W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842*", *Speculum* 65 (1989) : 769-71.

(14) "Photius on the Transmission of Texts (*Bibliotheca, Codex* 187)", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 19 (1978) : 171-75. Typically, Treadgold identifies the seventh Ecumenical Council as the victory that freed the bibliophile iconodules from the intellectual bonds of the iconoclasts ; see also "The Revival of Learning and the Revival of the Byzantine State", *American Historical Review* 84 (1979) : 1245-66.

their opponents ([15]). While imperial arms struggled against advancing Islam, the "western" or "Hellenic" iconodules defended classical culture against the "eastern" of "semitizing" iconoclasts, and the iconodules' success guaranteed the survival of the classical heritage. This interpretation introduces, however, a highly anachronistic cultural context for the debates over iconoclasm. The iconodule charges of "semitizing", "Judaizing" or "ignorance" were made not to defend classicism, for which the iconodules felt no particular affection, but Christianity. The iconodules had no interest in promoting Hellenism, but in preserving their sectarian form of Christianity.

The masterful study of Paul Lemerle affirmed the continuity of classical education, and an appreciation for that education throughout iconoclasm by both iconoclasts and iconodules. At the same time, he convincingly refuted those scholars who argued that iconoclasm's theological preoccupation inhibited Byzantine intellectual development ([16]). Nonetheless, even he divided classicizing western from mystical eastern Christianity in Byzantine culture, a more sophisticated form of the "semitizing" model that set the dialectic of Athens and

(15) G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, 3 tr. J. Hussey, New Brunswick, 1969 : 161, and A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique*, Paris, 1957 : 96-104, 111-12 ; L. W. BARNARD, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, Leiden, 1974 : 34-50.

(16) P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris, 1971 : 105-08, 177-78, 202-04. See, however, Paul SPECK's criticism of Lemerle, "Review of P. Lemerle, *Humanisme, Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 61 (1974) : 385-93, and *ibid.*, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel. Praezisierungen zur Frage des höheren Schulwesens in Byzanz im 9. und 10. Jhr.*, Munich, 1974 : 120-25. Speck argues that Byzantine classical education was not to train classicists, but to prepare bureaucrats. This reassessment of the "University" goes to the heart of the Renaissance problem, for Byzantinists have long used the University's "foundation" to mark the beginning of the Renaissance, see J. IRIGOIN, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IXe siècle)", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e-XIIe siècles* 5 (1962) : 287-302. Speck demonstrates that this "foundation" is nothing more than iconodule propaganda attacking the "philistine" iconoclasts, *ibid.* : 1-20, 85-86. Speck further argues that the imperial patronage of "classicism" that characterizes the "Macedonian Renaissance" is linked to the foreign policy needs of the Byzantines, see *ibid.*, "Versuch einer Charakterisierung der sogenannten Makedonischen Renaissance", *Les pays du nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance), Actes du colloque d'Upsal, 20-22 avril, 1979*, [*Acta universitatis Upsaliensis, Figura*, n.s. 19], ed. R. Zeitler, Upsala, 1981 : 237-42. On the other hand, the Byzantines naturally interpreted their renewed interest in classical literature in their own terms. The analysis of this intellectual movement should also seek to understand the contemporary redefinition of literature and language that accompanied political developments.

Jerusalem within Christianity itself ([17]). And despite his recognition that the iconoclastic controversy was a struggle of Christian theological factions, not a struggle between pro- and anti-cultural elements in Byzantine society, Lemerle concluded, "J'ai montré qu'en un sens elle [iconoclastic controversy] se termine par la victoire d'un certain hellénisme, d'un certain humanisme" ([18]).

Art historians, as well as historians have accepted a Macedonian Renaissance. Some art historians have defined a ninth-century renaissance on stylistic grounds, but those stylistic grounds have been seriously challenged ([19]). The evidence for the style of iconoclast art of the eighth and early ninth centuries, admittedly scant, indicates that its style was hardly less classical than the Macedonian art that succeedeed it ([20]). The acknowledged stylistic continuity from iconoclast to early Macedonian art undercuts the renaissance model, so that art historians have traditionally rested the case for the Macedonian Renaissance on iconographic, rather than stylistic grounds.

It should not surprise us that the cultural dynamic that art historians impose on Macedonian art and iconography is the same dialectic employed by historians. In particular, art historians conceive of

(17) LEMERLE : 107.

(18) LEMERLE : 177.

(19) See BUCHTHAL, 1938 : 73-75 ; E. KITZINGER, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) : 95-115, and the very different view of C. WALTER, "Expressionism and Hellenism. A Note on Stylistic Tendencies in Byzantine Figurative Art from *Spätantike* to the 'Macedonian Renaissance'", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 42 (1984) : 276-79, 284-87. Only WEITZMANN has made a serious effort to link together literary and artistic evidence for the Macedonian Renaissance, see *ibid.*, 1971 : 176-223. C. MANGO, however, has challenged the aesthetic grounds on which he bases his argument, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror*, Inaugural Lecture, Oxford, 1975, *ibid.*, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 85-101. H. BELTING, "Kunst oder Object-Stil ?" *Byzanz und der Westen, [Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 432], Vienna, 1984 : 65-83, and I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, "The Cup of San Marco and the 'Classical' in Byzantium", *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250*, ed. K. Bierbauer, P. Klein, W. Sauerlaender, Munich, 1985 : 167-73, have challenged the stylistic basis of the Macedonian Renaissance, and K. SHELTON, *The Esquiline Treasure*, London, 1981 : 20-25, has challenged the stylistic grounds of the "fourth-century" Renaissance.

(20) GRABER : 146-50 ; see also the remarks to WEITZMANN, 1971 : 176. The correspondance between style and iconography drawn by those scholars who support the "perennial Hellenism" model acknowledges that the Hippodrome art patronized by the iconoclast emperors must, due to its "classical" subject, have been drawn from "classical" models and possessed, therefore, "classical" style.

a cultural conflict between "oriental", "semitic" or "Christian", and "classical" or "Hellenic" aesthetics in Byzantine artistic expression. As Kurt Weitzmann explained :

> The artistic accomplishment of the Macedonian Renaissance consists ... in the blending of Christian themes and styles with those of the ancient world. The purpose was to unite the ancient physical world with Christian unworldliness and to bring the *classical* idea of beauty into harmony with Christian transcendentalism (21).

The art of the Macedonian period was classical because it assimilated classical physicality and style with an uncongenial and unworldly Christian style and thematic context. Thus Weitzmann, like many historians, pitted occidental classicism against oriental Christianity in order to argue a rebirth of classicism after the Christian anti-classicism of the iconoclastic period. The Macedonian Renaissance achieved the synthesis of the natural orientalism of Christianity with classical naturalism in order to create a conscious, but uneasy, renaissance synthesis.

This model of oscillating Hellenism sets the eye of the viewer not upon the immediate, historical evolution of Macedonian culture, but long in the classical past, and neglects or denies any evolution during the iconoclastic period that might have influenced post-iconoclastic Macedonian culture. Even when scholars investigate the theology of the iconoclast controversy, they rely not so much on contemporary authors, but on the "golden age" fathers as if Byzantine theology was also perennial. Iconoclasm, however, was far from a cultural and intellectual lacuna in Byzantine history. It compelled theologians of define the relationship between image and text in a way that they never had before, and this redefinition revolutionized the Byzantine attitude toward the visual and literary arts. A theology of image and text evolved that elevated language to the divine status of icons, while assigning the qualities of texts to the icons themselves. Above all, new exegeses of biblical passages contested by iconodules and iconoclasts inspired iconographic innovation (22).

(21) WEITZMANN, 1971 : 221-22. Italics are mine.

(22) See the studies of J. R. MARTIN, *The Dead Christ*, Princeton, 1973, J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, "Les thèmes théophaniques dans l'Art Byzantin", *Synthronon*, Paris, 1968, for the effects of iconoclasm on Macedonian and later iconographies. More recently, A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis : The Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986, and J. ELSNER, "Image and Iconoclasm in Byzantium", *Art History* 11 (1988) : 471-91, have integrated literary sources into their analysis of iconographic evolution in the

II. *Word, Image and Moses*

The iconoclasts argued that a true image of Christ possessed a degree of essential identity with Christ (23) ; the iconodules responded that the icon was symbolic, and its function was to bring the viewer to the subject through contemplating the material image, "And so it is that the transcendant is clothed in terms of being ... and numerous [material] symbols are used to convey what is imageless" (24). The icon, the iconodules continued, was a text for the illiterate, and the text an icon for the literate : both brought the presence of God to men, serving an educational purpose for their respective audiences (25). John of Damascus asked his opponents, "Why do you worship the book and spit upon the image ?" since both text and image served the same function (26). But the eighth-century theologian understood by such a statement a more complex and problematic definition of text and image than traditional pictorial/narrative equivalence. Elsewhere, for example, he offered six definitions of the image of Christ, of which the fourth was the Biblical text (27). Theodore the Studite argued that if Christ could be portrayed in words, then he could equally be portrayed in images (28). Iconodule theologians recognized that their defense of icons rested in large part on their redefinition of text and language, and ultimately evolved a theory of language to correspond with their theory of images. As John of Damascus explained :

wake of iconoclasm, see P. ALEXANDER, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and its Definition (*Horos*)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953) : 37-66, especially 44-52, and M. ANASTOS, "The Ethical Theory of Images formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954) : 153-60, *ibid.*, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 815", *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955 : 177-88, for theological development during iconoclasm.

(23) See MANSI, 13 : 261-64.

(24) PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS, *PG* 3 : 592. The very fact that this passage is from a treatise entitled *The Divine Names* indicates the iconic character of language.

(25) See NICEPHORUS, *PG* 100 : 429 ; JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *PG* 94 : 1268 ; MANSI, 13 : 269 ; and the analysis of this issue in E. KITZINGER, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954) : 136-39.

(26) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *PG* 95 : 316 ; see also NICEPHORUS, *PG* 100 : 748. See also KARTSONIS, *Anastasis* : 49-67, on the similar seventh-century arguments advanced by Anastasius the Sinaite.

(27) ID., *PG* 94 : 1337-1344.

(28) THEODORE THE STUDITE, *PG* 99 : 441-44.

> It is necessary that we first have an understanding of whatsoever is the philosophy of language ; for we speak, making the beginning of meaning from speech (29).

Not only did icons hold the image of the *Logos*, Christ, but words as well, were images that held *logoi*, meanings ; this redefinition of language as an icon re-interpreted the relationship of language, image and the written text.

The iconodule fathers, therefore, privileged the sensory forms of communication with the divine, not only the icon, but language itself. As Pseudo-Dionysius explained, language was itself a sensory medium through which one could approach the divine, "The truth we have to understand is that we use letters, syllables, phrases, written terms and words because of the senses" (30). The emphasis placed on the senses in the later fathers, furthermore, was a reversal of the "golden age" fathers' views. As the fourth-century Gregory of Nyssa had explained :

> And the contemplation of God does not operate either through what is seen or what is heard ; nor is it comprehended by any customary [discursive] thought (31).

For the iconodule fathers, however, the necessity of the senses did not constitute a denial of *gnosis*, but rather, its beginning, "Through the knowledge we have, which is geared to our senses, we may be uplifted as far as the cause of everything" (32). The implications of this association of sensory image, whether icon or word, with *paideusis*, education, had an effect on Byzantine literary and cultural self-definition that went far beyond the theological bounds of iconoclasm, and played a decisive role in creating the attitudes towards literature and art that characterize Macedonian Byzantine culture (33).

(29) See the discussion of this passage in E. WEIHER, *Die Dialektik des Johannes von Damaskos*, Wiesbaden, 1969 : 29.

(30) PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS, *PG* 3 : 708.

(31) GREGORY OF NYSSA, *PG* 44 : 373.

(32) PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS, *PG* 3 : 825.

(33) I use the word *paideusis* rather than *paideia* to avoid the cultural connotations with which the latter expression has been invested since Werner Jaeger's brilliant work *Paideia*, and to emphasize that the context of education is not simply classical *paideia*, but the education of the illiterate through images in the specific context of the iconoclastic controversy.

One of the central exegetical foundations of the iconodule theology of image and text, and indeed, one of the most critical scriptural passages in the iconoclastic struggle, was the Exodus text of the Sinai revelation. God had there commanded both the abolition of idols (*Exodus* 20 : 4) and the decoration of the ark with images of the cherubim (*Exodus* 25 : 18-21), providing both iconoclasts and iconodules with their most central biblical injunctions to make or to reject images. Eighth- and ninth-century theologians subjected these verses to intense scrutiny, and much of iconoclasm's polemics revolved around their interpretation (34).

The interpretation of the Sinai scene in fourth-, fifth- and sixth-century theologians was circumscribed by significantly different intellectual imperatives than in their exegetical successors. Writing in a religious milieu much more diverse than the monolithic Christian culture of the eighth century, they embraced an apologetic agenda that strove to establish the absolute superiority of Christian *gnosis* against pagan or Jewish competitors. Thus, the "golden age" fathers consistently denied that Moses, the personification of the Old Dispensation, could have experienced a complete mystical link with God. Moses personified this incomplete Jewish revelation, and so the Cyril of Alexandria explained that Moses had only perceived God on Sinai with his senses, but not with his mind :

> For Israel witnessed [God] and with them, Moses also, but this was in no way a noetic experience [*γνωστῶς*], but rather, sensory [*αἰσθητῶς*] (35).

(34) See J. PELIKAN, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, Chicago, 1974 : 124-27, whose wide-ranging collection of sources discussing this passage ranges from traditional iconodule apologies to anti-Jewish polemics. It should be noted as well that this passage played a key role in the *refutatio* of the iconclasts at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, where the images of the cherubim are directly opposed to the Sinai proscription of images, see MANSI, 13 : 284-85. The letter of Gregory II to Leo III is likely an eighth- or ninth-century forgery, but for our purposes authenticity is not an issue, see *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit*, ed. H.-J. Geischer, Baden, 1968 : 35.

(35) CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *PG* 76 : 628. Moses was not always quite so bluntly described as "sensory" by the early fathers, but even Gregory of Nyssa's description of Moses' revelation on Sinai in his *Life of Moses, PG* 44 : 372-79, perhaps the most favorable description of Moses in all Patristic literature, nonetheless denied the possibility of not only Moses, but anyone comprehending God's spiritual nature, "The knowledge [*γνῶσις*] of the divine substance is impossible, not only for men, but for every intellectual creature", *PG* 44 : 377. Not only, furthermore, does the Sinai experience demonstrate that the knowledge of the divine essence is unattainable, but that ultimately, Moses symbolizes "the commanded laws [*ta nomika parangelmata*]", *PG* 44 : 373. See the bibliography in LADNER : 75-79, for the incomprehensibility of

As John Chrysostom explained, although Moses had heard the voice of God, and had received the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, nonetheless, the average Christian, through his baptism, had a better and more complete link to the divine :

> We [Christians] have been judged to be of greater glory than Moses, not the Apostles only, but all the faithful ... For you are able to see the glory that is much brighter and greater than the other ... And in what comes after, [Scripture] advances Christians to the dignity of the Lawgiver, or even to a much greater (36).

The Christian's advantage was the monopoly of God's only complete theophany, the Incarnation. Before the Incarnation, Christ had certainly appeared to man, but only obscurely, and was never noetically perceived. Cyril of Jerusalem, for exemple, distinguished Moses' incomplete, sensory perception of Christ on Sinai, from his first, true knowledge of Christ at the Transfiguration (37). The apse mosaics of St. Catherine at Sinai are, perhaps, the clearest iconographic expression of this distinction between Moses' visions of Christ on Sinai and at the Transfiguration. The Transfiguration, set in the apse, shows Moses and Elijah fixing their gaze on Christ and adoring his divinity. The Sinai scene, on the other hand, shows Moses his head averted downards, illustrating his incomplete vision. (*Figures* 3 and 4). In this way, early Christian iconography visually expressed both the exegetical interpretation and more general theological significance of the Sinai revelation. Both traditions attempted to express the Christian monopoly of knowledge of God by limiting man's direct contact with God to the Incarnation : the Sinai revelation was a dark glimpse of Christ's Godhood, which was only fully revealed at the Incarnation.

The interpretation of Moses' writings themselves epitomizes the changes wrought in Patristic thought about the relationship of language and image by iconoclasm. The "golden age" fathers had authenticated Moses' writings by ascribing the invention (or reception) of writing to Moses on Sinai. They did not, however, invest the writing itself

God in the Greek fathers, 102, n. 73, for the general attitude toward Moses in the early fathers.

(36) JOHN CRHYSOSTOM, *PG* 61 : 444.

(37) CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *PG* 33 : 669 ; JOHN CRHYSOSTOM concurs that Moses is brought to the Transfiguration in order to be brought face to face with God, *PG* 58 : 531-32.

with much significance. They regarded the message as divine, but the script as utilitarian. The sixth-century author Cosmas Indicopleustes explained that Moses had been taught script by God, but only in order to have a medium through which to describe the cosmogony :

> After he had been taught letters by God, and received from a revelation with his eyes themselves, the origin of all things ..., he wrote the Book of Genesis (38).

Cosmas followed the general devaluation of Moses' vision of God as "with the eyes" rather than "with the mind", while the script itself possessed only a functional value. The fifth-century theologian Isidore of Pelusiota characterized the Mosaic text as an ethical handbook, and set these words in the mouth of Moses :

> "I do not release [from sin]", he says, "but I demonstrate through writing the activity that is clearly to be done" (39).

Isidore went on to say that the law's significance was wholly ethical : Moses was only a pedagogue who used script as a medium to convey his ethical statutes (40). Isidore's interpretation of the Sinai revelation differed from Cosmas', but both viewed script as a utilitarian device. Gregory of Nyssa went even further by not simply rejecting any intrinsic value of script, but even disassociating language from its "hidden" meaning :

> Accordingly, Moses, who lived many generations after the building of the tower [of Babel], uses one of the subsequent languages in his historical narrative of the creation, and attributes certain words to God, relating these things in his own tongue in which he was brought up and with which he was familiar ... For to suppose that God used the Hebrew tongue when there was none to understand such a language, I think no reasonable being will consent (41).

For Gregory, Platonist that he was, language obscured rather than clarified. It was an inferior medium for communicating ideas, and was only their dim reflection : Moses had had to rely on Hebrew to express divine realities that transcended any human language. The acquisition

(38) COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, *PG* 88 : 161.
(39) ISIDORE OF PELUSIOTA, *PG* 78 : 1241.
(40) *Ibid.*, *PG* 78 : 1268. See also the passage of Basil of Caesarea in the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, MANSI 13 : 300.
(41) GREGORY OF NYSSA, *PG* 45 : 997-1000.

of script at Sinai was symptomatic of the revelation's limitations. Moses' vision on Sinai was incomplete, and Moses' expression of his vision, the Written Law, was equally incomplete : Moses had only obscurely perceived, and the Written Law was the dim reflection of his perception.

By the sixth century, the victory of the church began to redirect the priorities of theologians. Institutional, liturgical and mystical problems began to define the boundaries of eastern theology. Christian assimilation of the theurgic philosophy of the last great pagan philosopher Proclus through the Dionysian corpus in the seventh century, turned theologians further toward liturgical mysteries (42). This did not mean that later theologians ignored the "golden age" theologians, but they interpreted Scripture in their own intellectual context (43).

"Golden age" and iconodule theologians noted Christ's presence at Sinai, but the former qualified this theophany ; the Incarnation was the only complete theophany of Christ. The defenders of mystical ascent through the physical medium of the icon, however, needed to demonstrate that God could be noetically perceived through any material manifestation, be it an icon or the cloud at Sinai. The Sinai revelation in particular was a critical polemical issue for the iconodules, for it was here that God first commanded Moses to make icons, those of the cherubim. Only if Moses' experience had been noetic could the

(42) For the self-admitted importance of the Dionysian theory of material object, symbol and meaning for the iconodules, see THEODORE THE STUDITE, *PG*, 99 : 500. In this regard, see the important article of K. PARRY, "Theodore Studites and the Patriarch Nicephorus on Image-Making as a Christian Imperative", *Byzantion* 59 (1989) : 164-83.

(43) As P. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople : Ecclesiastical and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1958 : 51, explained :

> In the history of thought, originality does not lie only in the first formulation of a thesis. There can be real originality where a thesis first proclaimed more or less incidentally by others is made the foundation stone for the solution of a new set of problems.

The originality of the Byzantines lay in exactly this. Their ability to interpret and adapt their diversity of cultural traditions, Christian, Hellenic and Roman, demonstrated a rare intellectual agility. Outward forms, the literary and artistic *topoi*, often seem endlessly repeated, but their repetition often masks subtle changes of emphasis and meaning. Thus, although a survey of the fathers' descriptions of Moses' personal revelation at Sinai reveals a similar set of *topoi*, nonetheless, Pseudo-Dionysius and the iconoclastic controversy significantly altered the nuances of many of these *topoi*, and introduced new *topoi* into the theological thesaurus.

images that God had commanded Moses to make, and whose manufacture was a critical scriptural authority for the iconodules, be authenticated. Moreover, as we shall shortly see, Moses' ability to create a true icon not only of cherubim, but of Christ, depended on a noetic perception of Christ. Thus, Maximus the Confessor, whose works first assimilated Pseudo-Dionysius into Byzantine theology, distinguished Moses from the Jews, and made of him a noetic man :

> The great Moses placed his tent outside of the encampment of the Jews ; that is, he began to adore the true understanding beyond the things that are perceivable, coming even unto the shadow, the holy and reverend place of true understanding (44).

Unlike the "golden age" theologians, Maximus distinguished Moses from the Jews in order to legitimate his *gnosis*. Photius also explained that Moses had perceived the things beyond, but that he had hid them from the Jews who could only comprehend the material (45). The eighth-century author Andrew of Crete, like the "golden age" fathers, identified Moses as "the ancient spreader of literacy at the time of illiteracy", but continued that his "recognition" [*ἀναγιγνωσκόμενος*] of Christ at the Transfiguration guaranteed Christ's authenticity (46). This explanation of Moses' presence at the Transfiguration contrasts sharply with the earlier explanation of Cyril of Jerusalem : for Cyril, Moses had been present at the Transfiguration so that he might finally know God ; for Andrew, Moses guaranteed Christ's divinity because he had already noetically experienced Christ at Sinai.

Andrew's description of Moses illustrates a second, no less critical element of the iconodules' interpretation of the Sinai revelation. Since

(44) MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, *PG* 90 : 1117. Maximus' description of "shadow" into which Moses ascended is markedly different from the description of Gregory of Nyssa above. While Gregory denied the possibility of any complete mystical link between man and God, Maximus, *PG* 90 : 1120, emphasized Moses' mortal, sensory, nature in his description of the Sinai revelation, and held it not as a hindrance, but a necessary element of man's being :

> The shadow is the incorporeal, immaterial, disembodied state, the condition of possessing knowledge [gnōsis] of the forms of the things that exist, in which the Moses who was within himself, just as if another Moses, contemplated the eternals with a mortal nature.

See also LADNER : 104, n. 80, 81, for the variety of interpretations of the "shadow" in Byzantine mysticism.

(45) PHOTIUS, *PG* 106 : 108 ; see also PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS, *PG* 3 : 1000.

(46) ANDREW OF CRETE, *PG* 97 : 953-56.

the "golden age" fathers, the Sinai revelation was the moment when man was introduced to script. But for the iconodules, it was there that Moses learned how to make not only images of the cherubim with paints, but icons of the Word in words. It was not lost on the iconodules that Christ himself was the *Logos*, the Word, and the Christophany on Sinai, the appearance of the written Law, was the appearance of words formed by the Word.

The invention of image and written word at Sinai assumed, in the hands of the iconodules, a significance quite distinct from that in the earlier fathers. As Cosmas of Jerusalem, a ninth-century religious poet, wrote :

> Christ, God, you gave yourself lasting form as the alphabet [*γράμματα*] on Sinai, riding in the night, in the shadow and the storm (47).

Christ's theophany was the script itself, and the Law was thus transformed into a textual icon of the Word. John of Damascus described the Law as no less a manifestation of Christ than Christ's appearance in the burning bush, "We know what was shown to Moses in the Bush, because it was realized in the miraculous Law" (48). The Law was not an allegory, but a symbol of Christ : the text was an icon of Christ in writing. Pseudo-Dionysius emphasized this symbolic, iconic character of the Law in his description of the Moses on Sinai, "He [Moses] described all the sacred actions of the Law as images of what was revealed to him on Sinai [the theophany]" (49).

The invention of script and introduction of literacy had a further corollary for the iconodules. Since a literary icon brought Christ to the peoples, using sacred script to introduce Christ was designated apostolic activity. The ninth-century Patriarch Nicephorus described Moses as an apostle to his people and thence to the whole world because he was the first to spread the word of Christ, or more exactly, as the recipient of script, he spread Christ the *Logos*, the Word, through the word, the icon of Christ (50). We saw earlier how John Chrysostom had claimed that not only the apostles, but the average Christian had

(47) Cosmas of Jerusalem, *PG*, 98 : 493. Maximus the Confessor's metaphor for Moses' vision returns to this literary association, "just as writing, which holds the image of the archetype of beauty, is mimetic", *PG* 90 : 1120.

(48) John of Damascus, *PG* 96 : 831.

(49) Pseudo-Dionysius, *PG* 3 : 501.

(50) Nicephorus, *PG* 100 : 779-80.

a superior mystical communion with Christ, but John of Damascus described the theophany on Sinai in terms that had been formerly reserved for the Pentecost, "The Law came forth from Sinai in the form of tongues of fire" (51). This allusion to the apostles was more than a convenient metaphor. Moses was himself an apostle because through writing, he had spread the Word through the world, first to the Jews (who did not understand what they read), and thence to the gentiles.

This association of Moses, apostolicity, and script was the foundation of a theology of *paideusis*, education, advanced by the iconodules. The introduction of script became a revelation of no less significance than the Mosaic Law itself. Thus, not only did the role of Moses change, but a new dimension was added to the interpretation of the Law. While the iconodules never discarded the notion that the Law was the harsh pedagogue, the shadow of grace that enslaved the Jews, a new emphasis was laid on the Law as the first writing. The revelation on Sinai assumed a special importance as the introduction of script, literary icons, to mankind, a necessary step in man's spiritual evolution. So fundamental was the relationship between revelation and language, that Photius explained the change from the Old Dispensation to the New Dispensation as a *translatio linguae* from Hebrew to Greek :

> And the Mosaic Law had been delivered in the beginning in Hebrew ; accordingly, at that time, only the Jews possessed a knowledge of God, and the rest reveled like beasts in the madness of idolatry. But when Christ drew near to the incarnation and calling the world to himself, the Greek tongue, more than any other, came forward among the gentiles, and at the same time, the language of the Hebrews was transferred to that of the Greeks [in the Septuagint] (52).

The process of universal salvation depended on the dissemination of divine knowledge through written language, initially Hebrew, the language of the Jews, and then Greek, the language of the gentiles. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek was a critical step in the education and conversion of the gentiles, for it brought the knowledge of God to the gentiles and served as a preparation for Christ. Knowledge was drawn from the text, and Photius even explained the

(51) JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *PG* 96 : 836.
(52) PHOTIUS, *PG* 101 : 817.

difficulty of biblical interpretation as a philological issue : the obscurity of Scripture was partly caused by the transliteration of Hebrew names into Greek (53).

The theologians of the ninth and tenth centuries, therefore, understood the senses far differently than their predecessors. The senses became the means of *paideusis*, the education of the Christian, that preceeded *ekstasis*, the contemplation of the divine. Sensory objects, both images and words, became icons through which the Christian approached the divine. A new theology of language dramatically shifted the exegetical priorities of the iconodules. The Old Testament became more than an obscure image of Christ containing the literary types of Christ. It became an historical series of Christophanic icons. As Photius explained, history, the sensory record of Christ's participation in human affairs, became itself a series of icons through which we might experience Chirst :

> Prophecy is not history. It [history] teaches events done in our midst, which we all alike, the prominent and the ordinary, experienced at the time and may learn about now (54).

In Photius' hands, history became an educational process effected through the experience of the senses. The sensory experience of Christ through textual historical icons became a new interpretation of the Old Testament that arose from the intellectual ferment of iconoclasm. These twin themes, Christophany and *paideusis*, not only dominated theology, but as we shall see, inaugurated new and innovative iconographic forms.

III. *The Leo Bible*

The Leo Bible's interpretation of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments followed this iconodule association of Christophany and education. On folio I^r, one of the manuscript's frontispieces, is the picture of a cross, and in the medallions within the cross are listed the books of the Old Testament. This iconography expresses a traditional Christian theme that the Old Testament foreshadows the

(53) *Ibid., PG* 101 : 816.

(54) *Ibid., PG* 101 : 948. See also G. L. KUSTAS, "History and Theology in Photius", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 10 (1964) : 37-74, and especially 42-45.

New, while the New Testament contains the Old ; the Old Testament offers the types of Christ, but the New Testament gives such shadows a literal body in the Incarnation. Leo, however, went beyond this classical Christological allegory to give a distinctly Christophanic emphasis to the relationship of the Old and New Testaments. The epigram begins with a traditional expression of the distinction between the literal and the spiritual meaning of Scripture :

> Moses, at the same time as he delineates the Law, presents figuratively [τῷ τύπῳ], its fulfillment, [the Incarnation], while he clearly shows the means of entry [εἰσόδους] into this miracle, [through the Pentateuch] (55).

This conventional beginning follows the tradition that the Old Testament was typologically concordant with the New Testament. The continuation of the epigram, however, introduces a very different interpretation of the Old Testament :

> The Bible most wisely teaches us through what means the all-ruling God, the *Logos*, that is, the creator of heaven and earth, comes forth, ultimately setting straight all of man's affairs for salvation, as he alone knows. For thus he secured to himself his beloved, raising [them] from the earth with miracles beyond nature (56).

The Old Testament thus was not only a typological description of Christ, but also a register of Christophany in human history, the appearances of Christ through "miracles beyond nature" to arrange all human affairs for the end of salvation. The Old Testament was more than prophecies and types of the Incarnation, but was the narrative of how Christ "came forth", appeared to men. These appearances were historical, sensory icons of Christ, and the Pentateuch was the literary icon that described them. The Christian entered into the mystery of the Incarnation through the text as through an icon. Indeed, the word εἰσόδους used to express this "entrance" into the mystery of the Incarnation was also used for the entry of the eucharistic sacrifice in the liturgy, the liturgical icon through which the Christian entered the mystery of the Incarnation. Thus did the Old Testament assume the role of a register of man's spiritual progress marked with the Christophanies that measured each of his steps. The text became a literary

(55) MATHEWS : 124.
(56) *Ibid.* : 124.

icon of icons, each one leading man ever closer to the final divine revelation, the Incarnation.

This spiritual evolution of mankind through the written word is the theme of one of the Leo Bible's most ambitious miniatures, the Creation miniature. (*fig.* 5). The scene is in three registers : the bottom register shows the serpent's temptation of man ; the center register shows the fishes of the sea, and may have also shown the flight of the spirit above the waters. But the most unusual, indeed unique, iconographic feature of the miniature is the top register where Moses records the history of creation. The scene derives from the iconographically related scene of Adam naming the animals ([57]), but the substitution of Moses for Adam changes entirely the iconography's significance. Rather than follow the narrative of Genesis, the Leo Bible introduced an entirely new interpretive dimension into the miniature. The epigram develops the meaning of this iconographic transformation :

> He who timelessly supports the clay, the substratum of the earth, and sustains the heaven like a curtain from above, within time places the sea in the midst, and forms in a fitting way a speaking animal. After that, as Moses writes, the snake there, out of envy, creeps up to speak to the image [εἰκών] [of God] ([58]).

We have already noted that it was a theological commonplace that earth was Christ's creative work. But that man, the image of God, who is tempted in the lowest register, was created as "a speaking animal", is an expression of post-iconoclastic theology. The epigram expresses the iconodule interpretation of man and language, for the very nature of man, his mimesis of the divine, is shown to be linguistic : his creation is the creation of language. The appearance of Moses in the miniature, then, is significant not simply as the recorder of the Genesis narrative, as he was described earlier by the sixth-century Cosmas Indicopleustes, but as the inventor of script recording the simultaneous creation of human kind and language. The Creation scene was transformed from the Bible narrative into a sequential narrative of the education of mankind, moving from speech to writing.

The apostolic implications of script that the iconodules derived from the icons' paideutic character, were also not neglected in the

(57) See *Ibid.* : 113-18.
(58) *Ibid.* : 124.

Leo Bible. The epigram and miniature describing Moses' census of the tribes of Israel consciously transformed the Bible text in order to link Moses to the apostles. The miniature is the frontispiece for the book of Numbers (*fig.* 6). It is an odd choice because the Census is an exceptionally rare scene in Byzantine manuscript illumination, and its iconography is even more unusual since it departs from the biblical text. The miniature illustrates Moses dividing the tribes of Israel, and Joshua, as the miniature explains, "writing" and presenting his text to the viewer. In fact, the description of the Census in Numbers I and XXVI, has Aaron and his son Eleazer assist Moses, but the inclusion of Joshua is explained by the epigram :

> Moses lets go the tribes from the people of Israel, counting them, and Joshua concurs. But surprising earthly nature, he brings in another counting of human nature from his progeny. I think he introduces the disciples from far away, as he enlists each nation for Christ ([59]).

Joshua had been understood as a type of Christ since the earliest Christian writers ([60]), and the Leo Bible's miniature and epigram, which explain Joshua's agreement with Moses, alludes to Christ's own participation in the Census. The legend next to Joshua explicitly describes his action as writing, and through this visual association of Moses arranging the tribes and Joshua writing, an apostolic connection between Moses, Christ and script is created. Moses enlists each nation for Christ as the teacher of script and the biblical text.

Moses, therefore, transcends his typological role, for he participates in the historical process of universal education and conversion that the apostles, called the "progeny" of Moses, will complete. This association of Moses with the apostles found its fullest iconographic expression in the headpiece of *Psalm* LXXVII in the eleventh-century Psalter, *Vat. gr.* 342. This unusual miniature shows Christ handing a codex to Peter, while Moses and Paul, each leading a group of prophets or apostles, bow to each other beneath Christ. The opening text of the Psalm, "Give ear, oh people, to my Law", was generally illustrated by reception of the Law on Sinai, and *Vat. gr.* 342, in fact, illustrates this on the facing page ([61]). The headpiece miniature,

(59) *Ibid.* : 128.
(60) *Ibid.* : 118-21.
(61) See A. CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Paris, 1984 : 79.

however, places the reception of the Law in an apostolic tradition that extends from Moses to Peter and Paul, his apostolic "progeny".

The epigram and miniature of the Leo Bible's Sinai scene bring together the three primary elements of the iconodule interpretation : Christophany, Moses' noetic, mystical union with Christ, and the revelation on Sinai as a step in the paideutic preparation of man for the Incarnation (*fig.* 2). The epigram expresses these themes, but their most innovative expression is discovered in the miniature's iconographic invention. The Sinai scene was one of the most commonly depicted in post-iconoclastic manuscript art, especially in Psalters. But also, it is one of the least standardized. The Leo Bible presents one of the first extant iconographic articulations of the twin themes, the paideutic and the Christophanic, of the iconodule exegesis of the Sinai revelation (62). We will shortly examine the evolution of this scence, in which these themes that the Leo Bible sought to combine in its miniature, evolved distinctive iconographic traditions of their own.

The epigram for the Sinai miniature emphasizes not simply Christ's presence, but his Christophany through the script. Like Cosmas of Jerusalem, the Leo Bible epigrammist played on the identification of the Word with the words of script :

> The painter has shown us the famous, inspired Moses taking possession of the tablets and being amazed at the Laws divinely composed in script, written with [or by] the unutterable Word [*γραφέντας ἀρρήτῳ λογῳ*] (63).

(62) WEITZMANN, 1947 : 32-36, asserted that the iconography of the Leo Bible is fundamentally conservative because Octateuchs were reproduced less frequently due to their greater expense. BUCHTHAL, 1938 : 38-39, while acknowledging the Leo Bible artist's manipulation of minor elements, such as the personification of Sinai or the division of the group of Jews at the base of the mountain, nonetheless concludes :

> We have seen that this miniature, characteristically repeats the same consecutive combination of Moses receiving the Law with the scene of Moses casting off his sandals, that we could trace to the early Christian period ... We are really dealing with a survival of this old [narrative] tradition and not with an independent addition to the pictorial addition to the model ...

H. BELTING, "Zum Palatina-Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 20 (1971) : 19-23, has, on the other hand, argued that Byzantine artists were quite capable of adapting different elements of earlier models in order to create compositions that could express new theological nuances. He concludes that the only means of discovering the cause of this adoption of new iconographic compositions lies in the analysis of the theological themes such iconographies represent.

(63) MATHEWS : 128.

The epigram describes not only the reception of the Law, but of script as well by its play on the word *logos*. The expression, "written with the unutterable Word", has double sense ; the *Logos*, Christ, wrote the script, but the passage also implies that Christ, the *Logos* was also that which was written. The Sinai epigram, therefore, complements the frontispiece epigram that explained that the Old Testament was the Christophanic narrative of how Christ "came forth" to lead man to himself through "miracles beyond nature". The script was the appearance of Christ, and the divine writing was linked with Christ both as subject and object. It is possible that Leo had in mind *Exodus* 32 ; 16, "And the tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God graven on the tablets". As the poem of Cosmas of Jerusalem makes clear, Leo was hardly an original theologian. He was merely reciting a century-old iconodule exegetical tradition that Christ appeared on Sinai as the written script that was itself an icon of Christ designed as a step in man's spiritual *παίδευσις* to prepare him for the Incarnation.

The miniature's iconography is crowded with details and unique in their arrangement, qualities that most Sinai miniatures share. A comparison of pre- and post-iconoclastic Sinai scenes reveals how densely the Leo Bible artist layered this scene. The miniature shows Moses ascending Sinai and receiving the Law from God's hand, which is itself placed next to a burning bush. The figure of Moses receiving the Law dominates the page, but shunted off to the left, sitting on a shelf of rock, is Moses removing his sandals, which appear at the bottom of the hill. Twin sets of Jews observe each Moses figure from the base of the mountain. The left-hand group, who watch Moses remove his sandals, is, as Buchthal pointed out, a copy of the right-hand group (64).

This crowded miniature was no copy of a model, but the artist's invention. Not only did he add the second set of Jews, he also added the second Moses figure. The decidedly unbalanced Leo Bible composition stems from the artist's awkward formal manipulation of iconographic details. The artist copied the Moses of the Leo Bible Burning Bush miniature into the Sinai scene (*fig.* 10) : the drapery of the exposed legs is similar, both ending in a v-shaped drapery fold while the rest of the exposed legs lack drapery folds, and both figures share the same

(64) BUCHTHAL, 1938 : 37.

sunken, neckless heads. The Sinai figure's drapery is simplified with straight lines drawn across the right sleeve and its left leg is unnaturally foreshortened, but this abbreviation is due to the necessity of fitting the figure into a space too small for it. The artist attempted to restore the symmetry that the asymmetrical second Moses figure disturbed by reproducing the crowd of Jews at the base of mountain ; the effect was not entirely successful (65).

While it was not unusual for artists to include either Moses removing his sandals, as in the Berlin or Walters Gallery Psalters (*fig.* 7 and 8), or a burning bush, as in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter (*fig.* 9), a combination of both details is rare. Byzantine artists generally did not include *both* Moses removing his sandals and the burning bush in the same Sinai miniature in order to avoid iconographic confusion with the Horeb revelation. The Berlin Psalter (*fig.* 7), for exemple, avoided such confusion by separating the Horeb and Sinai miniatures into discrete framed registers to create a narrative sequence of Moses' career.

The Leo Bible artist, however, was less interested in narrative, than in thematically associating the twin revelations of Sinai and Horeb. The Leo Bible artist thus intentionally assimilated iconographic and formal details from the Horeb revelation in order to highlight iconographically the post-iconoclastic theme that both revelations share, theophany.

The stark pre-iconoclastic Sinai scenes had little interest in integrating Horeb or theophanic iconography in general because the interpretive

(65) The sandals at the bottom of the hill on the left also illustrate the artist's layered composition, for though they often appeared with the figure of Moses removing them, as in the Berlin Psalter, the Moses figure in the Leo Bible Burning Bush miniature does not appear with them ; evidently, they were iconographic accessories of the main, shoeless, Moses figure. Thus, BUCHTHAL, *ibid.* : 37-38, noted the compositional similarity between the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and the Leo Bible and suggested that the central Moses figure likely derived from the same source. But because of the second Moses removing his sandals, believed that the model for the Leo Bible must have been similar to the Berlin Psalter. He admitted, however, that the immediate models for the two manuscripts must have been entirely independent of each other. He also asserted that the sandals at the base of the hill were not connected with the figure of Moses removing his sandals, but that the miniaturist erred in including them in the picture. On the contrary, since the second figure of Moses was added to the original composition, the sandals would have been entirely appropriate. If the model for the Leo Bible artist, furthermore, had been similar to the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter, he would not have erred in adding sandals to the scene for they would have been part of the scene to begin with.

sources of the iconography rejected the noetic character of Moses' experience on Sinai. The same interpretative impetus that led pre-iconoclastic artists to turn Moses' head away from the hand of God disinclined them to assimilate theophanic iconographic elements into their depictions of Moses on Sinai. But the post-iconoclastic interpretive tradition of the Sinai revelation led artists to assimilate details from the Horeb revelation in order to heighten the Christophanic theme of the Sinai iconography (66).

Thus, the miniature's most significant iconographic innovation, and the one that most distinguishes it from pre-iconoclastic Sinai scenes is found in the main Moses figure itself. The Sinai scene in the ninth-century *Paris*. Gregory still shows Moses turning his head away from the hand of God. The Leo Bible and related manuscripts mark a break with this earlier tradition by consistently portraying Moses with his face turned toward God (67). The cause of this iconographic change is the changing exegetical interpretation of Moses as not simply the Law-giver, but as a participant in a mystical union with Christ. The *Paris Psalter* (*fig.* 11) expressed the fullness of Moses' vision by not only portraying Moses ascending Sinai in the manner of the Leo Bible, but also by including a portrait of Moses standing in contemplation. As the Leo Bible epigram explained, Moses was amazed at the tablets "composed in divine script", but only the pose of Moses, portraying him looking toward rather than away from the divine, expresses the noetic character of Moses' revelation on Sinai, and his vision of Christ in the linguistic icon of the *logos* found in the Law.

The iconographic evolution of these themes, *paideusis* and Christophany, led to numerous variants in later manuscript art, but broadly speaking, the iconographic development of the Sinai scene is divided into two groups, each of which concentrated on one theological theme.

(66) If, as we think, the model for the Leo Bible was similar to the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter, it may very well have included a burning bush. The artist, then, would have moved the burning bush from the left of the miniature, where it appears in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter, to the right in order to make room for Moses removing his sandals, and to avoid iconographic confusion. The Vatican Cosmas (with its twin at Sinai) might constitute a precedent for placing the burning bush by the hand of God, but it is likely that this is a burning bush rather than a Sinai scene ; cf. BUCHTHAL, 1938 : 34 ; K. WEITZMAN, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton, 1982, 1 : 400.

(67) BUCHTHAL, 1938 : 35-36. he reasonably suggests that the ascending Moses figure was drawn from Ascension iconography.

The iconographic evolution of these themes illustrates how theological considerations dictated iconographic choice (68).

The Christophanic iconographic tradition ultimately did away with the Sinai scene altogether in favor of portraying Christ alone. The eleventh-century Theodore Psalter, and its ninth-century model, *Pantocrator* 61, included a narrative cycle of the miracles mentioned in the seventy-seventh Psalm, but concluded with a bust of Christ, emphasizing the direct role that Christ played in the Old Testament miracles. *Marciana gr.* 565 and *Brit. Mus. Add.* 11836 expressed Christ's presence by adding him to the Sinai scene as a witness included among the crowd of Jews at the base of the mountain (69). Christ's presence at Sinai could hardly have been more explicitly depicted, but other Psalters, like the *Dumbarton Oaks Psalter*'s seventy-seventh Psalm miniature, did away with the Sinai scene altogether, and simply put a bust of Christ in its place, while the *Bristol Psalter* illustrated the seventy-seventh Psalm with a portrait of Christ enthroned. This iconographic shorthand illustrated the critical issue for the artist, the appearance of Christ. The dominating theological theme of Christophany, therefore, eventually created an iconographic ellipsis that eliminated the Sinai narrative in order to emphasize Christ's presence and majesty alone.

The other iconographic tradition emphasized the paideutic aspect of the Sinai revelation. The miniature of the second Deuteronomic Ode of Moses in the *Berlin Psalter* is divided into two registers ; in the first, Moses unlaces his sandals and receives the Law, but in the second, Moses teaches the people. The same combination of Moses receiving the Law and then teaching the people appears in *Athens* 15 and the *Walters Gallery Psalter*. The thirteenth-century Psalter, *Vat. Pal. gr.* 381, a copy of either the tenth-century *Paris Psalter*, or its

(68) Sinai scene variants can be followed through the Psalter tradition which generally placed it with either the seventy-seventh psalm, or the second ode of Moses ; see WEITZMANN, 1947 : 47-48 ; *ibid.*, "The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976) : 71-73 ; BELTING, 1971 : 30-32, for the original placement of the miniature in the Psalter tradition.

(69) See the comments of BELTING, 1971 : 28-29, and S. DER NERSESSIAN, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965) : 172-75 on the place of Christ at Sinai, and the general discussion of Christophanic themes in C. WALTER, "Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century", *Byzantion* 44 (1986) : 269-87, and especially 282-84.

model ([70]), contains the same scene as the Paris Psalter of Moses receiving the Law, while on the right, Moses gazes upward in contemplation, an iconography that echoes the Christophanic theme. But on the facing page of the Vatican manuscript, and absent from the Paris Psalter is a miniature of Christ teaching Moses, and Moses then teaching the Jews (*fig.* 12). These two miniatures separately express the twin themes of Christophany and *paideusis* found the literary sources and the Leo Bible. Just as the Christophanic theme, the paideutic theme developed an elliptical iconography that removed the reception of the Law entirely and simply portrayed Moses teaching like *Vat. Barb. gr.* 320, *Topkapi Saray* 13, and *Athens Benaki* 34.3. Thus, some artists chose to substitute the image of Christ for the Sinai scene, an ellipsis for Christophany, other artists inserted the teaching scene alone ([71]).

Of course, the paideutic theme is not unrelated to the Christophanic ; it is not simply the Law that is being taught, but Christ himself as the iconography of *Vat. Pal. gr.* 381 makes clear. The substitution of a teaching scene for the reception of the Law was, however, like the substitution of a portrait of Christ, an extra-textual iconography whose explanation lies not in the artist's fidelity to the biblical text, but to the conventions of contemporary exegesis.

IV. *Language and Culture*

This theology of *paideusis*, and the critical relationship between text and image developed in the iconodule theologians provides an important clue to the "Macedonian Renaissance's" interest in grammer and language, that had such lasting cultural impact. The renewed interest in the Greek language, and the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet for the conversion of the Slavs, are related cultural phenomena. Both manifest an attitude toward language and its role in culture and education for which, we suggest, iconodule theology and continuity with the intellectual evolution of Byzantium during the iconoclastic

(70) For the relationship of the *Vat. Pal. gr.* 381 and the *Paris gr.* 139, see K. WEITZMAN, 1971 : 138-39 ; and BELTING, 1971 : 22-23.

(71) A similar iconographic association between Moses receiving his apostolic commission and teaching the people is found in Sinai gr. 61, see BELTING, 1971 : 25-29.

controversy, not resurgent Hellenism, prepared the intellectual groundwork. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, the ninth-century Apostles to the Slavs, and contemporaries of Photius, earned their apostolicity through the invention of Slavic script, and its use in converting the Slavs, a practical application of the iconodule theology of language and education : at all events, there is certainly no Hellenic precedent for their mission.

The ninth-century *Life of Constantine-Cyril* fully expresses this iconodule link between language, script and apostolicity, and makes clear how closely linked was the mission to the Slavs and the intellectual revolution brought about by the theological debate of iconoclasm. The iconic and paideutic character of language is made clear in the *Life*'s description of the "Trilingual" controversy, an insistence that Latin, Greek and Hebrew were the only legitimate languages for the Biblical text, and a rejection of any attempt to translate the Scriptures into Slavic. When Cyril was assailed by Latin "Tri-linguists", he responded in the spirit of Photius' paideutic interpretation of the historical process of salvation, "Are you not ashamed to mention only three tongues and to command all other nations to be blind and deaf ?" (72). He argued that the apostles had been commanded to convert all nations, and that it was necessary, therefore, to educate the heathen in their own tongue :

> So likewise, unless you utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken ? ... Else how shall he that occupies the room of the unlearned say, "Amen", seeing that he does not understand what you are saying ? (73).

Constantine-Cyril explained that the process of conversion rested on language and education. Language was a sign, an icon, through which Christ could be shown to the unbelieving : without language, the messengers of Christ remained mute (74).

The *Life of Constantine-Cyril* epitomizes the cultural implications of the iconodules' theology of icon and word. Both were linked to a "paideutic" historical process by which man proceded from the sensory,

(72) *Life of Constantine, Michegan Slavic Materials* 13, tr. M. KANTOR and R. S. WHITE : 49. Although the *Life* is slavic, is still bears the impress of contemporary Byzantine theological thought.

(73) *Ibid.* : 51.

(74) *Ibid.* : 56.

either visual or aural, to the noetic. The reinterpretations of the Old Testament as a linguistic icon that narrated historical icons, the Christophanies, through which Christ appeared to men, and was itself an image of Christ through the icon of script, was founded on the critical redefinition of language as a material image of the divine, and its role in the historical, paideutic process of salvation. The cultural implications of this link between history and language were, as Photius' discussion of the translation of the Septuagint illustrates, well understood by the Byzantines. The missions of Cyril and Methodius must be understood within this cultural and intellectual framework.

Paul Speck's excellent suggestion that the Macedonian revival arose from the Byzantines' defense of their culture against the new national cultures rising about them, helps to explain the external political context of the missions of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius (75). But the sources of the culturally related Macedonian revival of classical and, especially, philological studies must also be sought in the same cultural dynamic as the philological studies of the Apostles to the Slavs. This internal source is not the Hellenism that so many modern writers admiringly, but anachronistically, ascribe to the ninth century, but the historical evolution of Byzantine theology in the iconoclastic period, which many historians and art historians ironically consider classicism's greatest opponent. It was the theological debate of iconoclasm where the issues of paideusis, and text and image, which find their resolution in the Macedonian revival, were first raised. It was the immediate polemical needs of the iconodules that redefined language as an icon, and created the conceptual framework in which scholars like Photius or Constantine-Cyril and Methodius could return to the study of texts, both classical and Christian.

Nor did the redefinition of language net leave art unaffected. But art did not passively assimilate the new textual model of the image, or the intellectual revolution of iconoclasm. The redefinition of historical events as a literary icon changed the artist's goals. Miniatures became historical icons of the unfolding of the divine plan of salvation through Christ's personal interventions in history, his Christophanies. The Leo Bible's compositional and iconographic detail, like so much of "Macedonian Renaissance" art, cannot simply be attributed to the rediscovery or copying of classical models. Rather, its narrative and historical detail,

(75) See SPECK, 1981 : 239-41.

often drawn from classical sources, was the culmination of a new perspective on the relationship between illumination and text.

Not only did the compositional requirements of art change, but the Leo Bible artist displayed remarkable inventiveness in executing his goals. No slave to models, he freely integrated iconographic details from diverse sources to create original and sometimes unique icons of critical biblical texts. His successors were no less inventive, and despite the many Sinai miniatures few are duplicative. Post-iconoclastic artists used the new Moses type in common, but each artist combined basic elements of the Sinai iconography with other details that distinguish each and lend it its own thematic nuance.

The Leo Bible is itself a historical icon that offers the viewer an image of its age. It combines a new theology of language with earlier conventions of "Golden Age" theology, and the artistic tradition of Moses on Sinai with iconographic and compositional innovations. The Leo Bible draws for us the image of a culture that, so unlike our own, did not value the classical for its own sake, but only in the context of its Christian self-definition. I have tried to meet this culture in its own terms, but I have only investigated one small facet of a deep and rich tradition. Far more remains to be done.

Synopsis

Art historians and historians have long relied on a Renaissance model to explain Byzantine cultural evolution. They have proposed a conflict between "perennial Hellenism" and "medieval" elements in Byzantine culture, in which the former periodically overcame the latter to spark a Renaissance. One of the most commonly cited examples of this cultural dynamic is the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. Following the "medieval moment" of iconoclasm in the eighth and early ninth centuries, the resurgence of interest in classical texts, literary and artistic styles, and iconography in the later ninth and tenth centuries constituted a victory of Hellenism.

The tenth-century Leo Bible is one of the manuscripts upon which scholars base this interpretation. Its miniatures "painterly" style and "classical" iconography have been used to illustrate the Macedonian Renaissance. The Leo Bible, however, is an unusual manuscript, for its miniatures also have epigrams running around their borders. These epigrams interpret the miniatures, and provide contemporary evidence

for Byzantine aesthetics. An analysis of these miniatures and epigrams demonstrates that the Byzantines had no classical perspective, but rather, the key to Macedonian style and iconography lies in the theological developments of the iconoclastic period, not in the resurgence of "perennial Hellenism".

The iconoclastic period evolved a theology that redefined words as literary images, and images as a pictorial language. This theology of language runs throughout the Leo Bible, but is most clearly articulated in the Sinai miniature, which portrays not simply the reception of the Law, but the invention of writing. Through an analysis of the exegetical evolution of the Sinai revelation during the iconoclastic period, and Leo Bible miniatures and epigrams, the Sinai miniature in particular, Macedonian style and iconographic evolution can be placed in its proper historical perspective, and the cultural implications of iconoclasm can be applied to the succeeding period.

One discovers, in fact, that "perennial Hellenism" is a modern anachronism that sets Byzantine culture against itself, and ignores the links of continuity between iconoclasm and the Macedonian period. Indeed, the "classical" style and iconography that characterizes Macedonian art is not the result of a "victory" of "perennial Hellenism" over "historical medievalism", but has its foundation in the theological evolution brought about by the "retardataire" phenomenon of iconoclasm.

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NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

BYZANTINISCHE ASPEKTE DER MITTELALTERLICHEN GESCHICHTE POLENS (1)

Polen ist ein Land, dessen Geschichte — auf den ersten Blick — mit „Byzanz", dem Oströmisch-Byzantinischen Reich, kaum etwas zu tun zu haben scheint (2). Weder haben die Landesteile des heutigen Polens jemals zum (West- oder Ost-)Römischen Reich gehört, noch haben die Byzantiner hier, ähnlich wie in Großmähren, nachhaltig missioniert bzw. auf eine bestehende Kirchenorganisation eingewirkt (3), noch könnte man ernsthaft behaupten, daß wir

(1) Bei dem nachstehend abgedruckten Text handelt es sich um die überarbeitete, erweiterte und mit Belegen versehene deutsche Fassung eines am 18. März 1993 am „Zakład Historii Starożytnej" der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań/Posen auf polnisch gehaltenen Vortrags. Die polnische Fassung dieses Beitrags wird im Anschluß an die vorliegende Veröffentlichung in *Byzantion* als Heft 5 der *Xenia Posnaniensia* publiziert. — Im folgenden verwendete Siglen : *BLGS* = *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, *BP* = *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, *BZ* = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *JbGO* = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, *LexMA* = *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, *OCP* = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, *ODB* = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, *PLP* = *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, *TRE* = *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, *VV* = *Vizantijskij Vremennik*.

(2) Vgl. aber S. FRANKLIN, s.v. *Poland*, in : *ODB*, 3 (1991), S. 1691 ; der Artikel ist für eine erste Orientierung über unser Thema am besten geeignet. Zum historischen Gesamtrahmen für das Thema vgl. zuletzt P. W. KNOLL, s.v. *Poland*, in : *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 9 (1987), S. 716-731 sowie den konzisen Überblick in dem postum erschienenen Werk : W. CONZE, *Ostmitteleuropa. Von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort von K. ZERNACK, München, 1992.

(3) Vgl. zur byzant. Mission allgemein (unter Einbeziehung der Westslaven) A. P. VLASTO, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*. An introduction to the medieval history of the Slavs, Cambridge 1970, mit S. 113-142 zu Polen, Fr. DVORNIK, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick/New Jersey, 1970, bes. S. 194-205 und Chr. HANNICK, *Die byzantinischen Missionen*, in : *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, Bd. II : *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, 1. Halbband, hrsg. v. K. SCHÄFERDIEK, München, 1978, S. 279-359, hier 298.

mehr als nur sporadische Nachrichten und Belege über den Austausch von Gesandtschaften bzw. über offizielle herrscherliche und kirchliche Korrespondenzen zwischen byzantinischen und polnischen Stellen besäßen, schon gar nicht vor der Jagiellonenzeit. Zudem verfügt Polen auch nicht über größere, spektakuläre Bestände an byzantinischen Urkunden, Handschriften, Siegeln, Münzen oder Schatzsammlungen mit Werken byzantinischer Kleinkunst. Nicht daß derartige Überreste byzantinischer Kultur in Polen völlig fehlten, — es gibt sie durchaus, und sie sind teilweise auch nicht unbedeutend (4). Aber ich wüßte nicht, daß irgendetwas davon besonders bekannt bzw. qualitativ oder quantitativ herausragend wäre : Allenfalls ließe sich an die Ikone der Gottesmutter von Tschenstochau, dem Typ nach eine Hodegetria-Ikone, denken, doch eine genuin byzantinische Herkunft dieses berühmten Gnadenbildes ist anscheinend nicht eindeutig erwiesen (5). Mit anderen Worten : Es wäre vermutlich kein leichtes Unterfangen, in Polen etwa anhand der im Lande selbst vorhandenen und konservierten byzantinischen Kunstwerke und Handschriften-

(4) Vgl. allgemein zur Frage der byzantinischen Kunst in Polen zuletzt Anna Różycka-Bryzek, *Polish medieval art in relation to Byzantium and Rus'*, in : (S. W. Swierkosz-Lenart [Hrg.]), *Le origini e lo sviluppo della cristianità slavo-bizantina* (= *Nuovi studi storici* 17), Rom 1992, 355-374 mit 19 Abb. (mit weiteren Nachweisen) und die bibliographischen Hinweise auf (Klein-) Kunstwerke oder byz. beinflußte Monumente der Malerei im knappen Abschnitt „Poland" in : *Literature on Byzantine Art 1892-1967*, vol. 1. By *Location*, part 2, *Europe (Italy-Z)*, Indices. Ed. by Jelisaveta S. Allen (= *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, series I, *Literature on Byzantine Art 1892-1967*), Washington D.C., 1973, S. 151f. Vgl. nun auch zum sog. Adalbert-Kelch aus Tremessen (Trzemeszno), dessen Achat-Kuppa aus Byzanz (10. Jh.) stammen soll und der sich seit 1958 im Schatz der Gnesener Kathedrale befindet, die Notiz in : *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (wie unten Anm. 29), Nr. II-34, S. 82-83. — Speziell im Hinblick auf byz. Münzfunde und sonstige byzantinische bzw. byzantinisch beeinflußte Werke der Kleinkunst (incl. Textilien) in Polen vgl. auch Eligia Gąssowska, *Bizancjum a ziemie północno-zachodnio-słowiańskie we wczesnym średniowieczu. Studium archeologiczne*, Breslau, etc., 1979, (frz. Res. : *Byzance et les pays slaves du nord-ouest au haut moyen-âge*, S. 194-197). — Zu byz. Siegeln vgl. Anna Szemioth/T. Wasilewski, *Sceaux byzantins du Musée National de Varsovie*, I-II, in : *Commentationes*, 11 (1966) 1-38 ; 14 (1969) 63-89. — Für byzantinische Handschriften in Polen vgl. die Hinweise bei M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1958, S. 10 Nr. 53, S. 17 Nr. 83, S. 57f. (Breslau/Wrocław), S. 82 (Cracovie/Kraków), und S. 232 (Varsovie/Warszawa), ferner Ja. N. Ščapov, *Греческие рукописи в собраниях Варшавы и Кракова*, in : *VV* 34 (1973), S. 257-261.

(5) Vgl. B. Kürbis, s.v. *Częstochowa*, in : *LexMa* 3, 1986, Sp. 408 und zum Bildnis zuletzt H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, München, 1990, S. 374 sowie Anna Różycka-Bryzek, *Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej. Pochodzenie i dzeje średnowieczne*, in : *Folia historiae artium*, 26 (1990), S. 5-26, vgl. auch Dies., *L'immagine d'Odighitria di Częstochowa : origini, culto e la profanazione Ussita*, in : *Arte cristiana*, 76, fasc. 724 (1988), S. 79-92.

bestände in breiterem Maße für Byzanz Interesse wecken zu wollen. Daß es daneben auch noch das Hindernis mangelnder Griechischkenntnisse (6) zu überwinden gälte, kommt erschwerend hinzu, ist aber kein Spezifikum Polens.

Und doch gibt es im Verlauf der mittelalterlichen Geschichte Polens, insbesondere unter Einschluß der Kirchengeschichte, bestimmte Ereignisse, Entwicklungen und Vorgänge, die mit Byzanz in einem engeren Zusammenhang stehen und unsere Beachtung verdienen. Es geht dabei sowohl um direkte wie indirekte Berührungen der byzantinischen mit der polnischen Geschichte. Ihnen wollen wir uns nun näher zuwenden, um auch diese Komponente der polnischen Geschichte angesichts der unter Historikern wohl dominierenden Blickrichtung auf West- und/oder Ost-Europa nicht in Vergessenheit geraten zu lassen.

Freilich betritt man bei dem gewählten Thema nicht ganz und gar wissenschaftliches Neuland : Denn wer sich zu diesem Thema äußert, wird sich zunächst Oskar Halecki (1891-1973) verpflichtet wissen, dem sowohl die polnische und internationale Geschichtsforschung als auch die Byzantinistik grundlegende Arbeiten verdanken und an dessen 20. Todestag (am 17.9.) in diesem Jahr zu erinnern ist (7). Sein im Jahre 1932 in *Byzantion* veröffentlichter Aufsatz *La Pologne et l'Empire Byzantin* stellt jedenfalls für die Bearbeitung unseres Themas eine noch immer sehr nützliche Orientierungshilfe dar, während seine hier anzuführenden Monographien (*Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*, Warschau 1930, Nachdruck London 1972 [mit einem neuen Vorwort des Verf.], *The Crusade of Varna*, New York 1943 und *From Florence to Brest*, Rom 1958) angesichts der in der Forschung seither erzielten Fortschritte nur zum Teil noch mit heranzuziehen sind (8). Im folgenden geht es mir also vor allem darum, Haleckis Artikel nicht nur unter Setzung anderer Akzente zu aktualisieren und zu modifizieren, sondern auch durch neue Gesichtspunkte inhaltlich zu ergänzen und damit zu erweitern.

Daher steht auch nicht, wie bei Halecki, eine im Jahre 1018 aus Kiew nach Byzanz übermittelte Botschaft Bolesławs I. Chrobry am Anfang unserer Betrachtung — ich komme darauf noch zurück —, sondern ein Blick in die Schrift *De administrando imperio*, die Kaiser Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos um 950 für seinen Sohn Romanos abfassen ließ (9). Denn in dieser

(6) Griechisch wird im Vergleich zu Latein kaum unterrichtet, s. I. I. LEWANDOWSKI, *Die alten Sprachen in Polen*, in : *Gymnasium*, 100 (1993), S. 159-161.

(7) Einen Nachruf auf ihn habe ich in der internationalen Bibliographie der *BZ* nicht angezeigt gefunden.

(8) O. HALECKI, *La Pologne et l'empire byzantin*, in : *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), S. 41-67, vgl. dazu auch die ausführliche Annotation von F. DÖLGER, in : *BZ*, 32 (1932), S. 439f. Der Nachdruck von *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* wurde besprochen von I. DUJČEV, in : *JbGO*, 23 (1975), S. 543-545 (in der *BZ* nicht registriert).

(9) Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*. Greek text edited by Gy. MORAVCSIK, English translation by R. J. H. JENKINS. New, revised edition

für unsere Kenntnisse über das damalige Byzanz sowie die ihm benachbarten Länder und Völker Europas eminent wichtigen Quelle, findet sich hauptsächlich im 9. (daneben auch im 37.) Kapitel der früheste byzantinische Hinweis auf einen polnischen Volksstamm, und zwar im Zusammenhang mit Nachrichten über die Kiever Rus'. Konstantin erwähnt hier unter den Slavenstämmen, die der Rus' tributpflichtig sind, neben den Krivičen auch die Lenzaninen mit folgenden Worten: „Die Slaven, ihre Tributpflichtigen, und zwar die sogenannten Krivičen (*Κριβηταινοί*), die Lenzaninen (*Λενζανῆνοι*) und die übrigen Slavinien (*Σκλαβηνίαι*), schlagen die Einbäume/'monoxyla' in ihren Bergen zur Winterszeit... (etc.)" ([10]). Unter diesen Lenzaninen haben wir nach der begründeten, auch von anderen Forschern geteilten Ansicht Gerard Labudas, „den Urstamm derjenigen Lędzanen" zu verstehen, „von dem das Ethnonymon der Ljachen, d.h. der späteren Polen, seinen Ursprung nimmt" ([11]). Das Siedlungsgebiet dieses z.B. noch unter dem Jahr 981 in der

(= *Corpus Fontium Hist. Byzantinae* 1), Washington D.C., 1967; (künftig *DAI*). Der griech. Text dieser Ausgabe ist auch als Textgrundlage synoptisch mit abgedruckt in der kommentierten russischen Übersetzung: *Константин Багрянородный, Об управлении империей. Текст, перевод, комментарий.* Red. G. G. LITAVRIN/A. P. NOVOSEL'CEV, Moskau, 1989. Vgl. auch zum DAI zuletzt: A. K(AZHDAN), s.v. in: *ODB*, 1 (1991), S. 593. Zum Kaiser selbst s. zuletzt H. HUNGER, s.v. *Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenneteos*, in: *LexMA*, 5 (1991), Sp. 1377-1387, A. K(AZHDAN)/A. CUTLER, s.v. *Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos*, in: *ODB*, 1 (1991), S. 502f. und den Sammelband: *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and His Age* (= *Second International Byzantine Conference Delphi, 22-26 July 1987*), Athen, 1989 mit 22 Beiträgen.

(10) Constantine Porphyrogenitus, DAI, ed. MORAVCSIK/JENKINS (wie Anm. 9), S. 56, Z. 8-10 (in Kap. 9): *„Οἱ δὲ Σκλάβοι, οἱ πακτιῶται αὐτῶν, οἱ Κριβηταινοὶ λεγόμενοι, καὶ οἱ Λενζανῆνοι καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβηνίαι, εἰς τὰ ὄρη αὐτῶν κόπτουσι τὰ μονόξυλα ἐν τῷ χειμῶνος καιρῷ,...*" (das vorletzte Komma von mir hinzugefügt, entsprechend den Übersetzungen von JENKINS, ebda. S. 57 und LITAVRIN/NOVOSEL'CEV, wie Anm. 9, S. 45). — Eine etwas abweichende deutsche Übersetzung der Stelle in Kap. 9 bietet K. DIETERICH, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde 5.-15. Jh.*, Hildesheim u. New York, 1973 (ND d. Ausg. Leipzig 1912), Teil 2, S. 101, Z. 22-23: „Die Slaven, ihre Tributpflichtigen, die genannten Cribetaeener und die Lenzanenen und die übrigen Sklavinier fällen auf ihren Bergen die Einbäume zur Winterszeit, ..." — Daß aber die einzeln aufgezählten Slavenstämme, einschließlich der Lenzaninen, gleichsam in Parenthese stehen und näher erläutern, wer unter den Tributpflichtigen zu verstehen sei, zeigen u.a. mit Hinweis auf die Stelle in Kap. 37 (MORAVCSIK/JENKINS, S. 168, Z. 43-45 bzw. bei LITAVRIN/NOVOSEL'CEV, S. 156/russ., 157, deutsch: DIETERICH, Teil 2, S. 55, Z. 5-7) die Kommentare zum *DAI*: vgl. Constantine Porphyrogenitus *DAI*, vol. II, Commentary, by F. DVORNIK et aliis, ed. R. J. H. JENKINS, London 1962, S. 33-35 und LITAVRIN/NOVOSEL'CEV, S. 316f. — Vgl. auch die griechischen Textauszüge samt deutschem Regest in: Das Ethnikon Sklabenoi, Sklaboi in den griechischen Quellen bis 1025. Bearbeitung: G. WEISS, Red.: A. KATSANAKIS (= *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa*, Beiheft 5), Stuttgart, 1988, S. 144f. Nr. 161 und S. 155 Nr. 175.

(11) G. LABUDA, *Der Zug des russischen Großfürsten Vladimir gegen die Ljachen. Ein Beitrag zur Ausbildung der polnisch-russischen Grenze im 10. Jahrhundert*, in:

sog. Nestorchronik als Ljachen erwähnten westslavischen Grenzstammes, der damals teils von der Rus', teils von Böhmen abhängig gewesen zu sein scheint, befand sich wohl am oberen Bug bei den sog. Červenskie grady, den Červenischen Burgen ([12]). Was nun Polen im engeren Sinn, das damalige Fürstentum Mieszkos I. (ca. 960-992) ([13]), betrifft, so ist allerdings festzuhalten, daß es bei Konstantin VII. ganz außer Betracht bleibt, wohl weil sich zwischen Byzanz und dem frühen Piastenstaat, im Gegensatz zur Rus', noch keine nennenswerten (handels-)politischen Beziehungen entwickelt hatten ([14]).

Zu einem, wenn auch nur einseitigen, polnisch-byzantinischen Kontakt kam es in diesem Bereich anscheinend erst unter Mieszkos Sohn und Nachfolger, Bolesław I. Chrobry (992-1025) ([15]), aber bezeichnenderweise vom Gebiet der Rus' aus ([16]): Als Bolesław in dem Machtkampf, der nach dem Tod Vladimirs

Ostmitteleuropa. Berichte und Forschungen, hrsg. v. U. HAUSTEIN, G. W. STROBEL und G. WAGNER, Stuttgart, 1981, S. 11-19, bes. S. 15-16 (Zitat hier). Vgl. ergänzend zu der dort angegebenen Literatur über die Lenzaninen H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, Art. s.v. *Lędzianie*, in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, 3 (1967), S. 52f. auch die oben in Anm. 10 zitierten Kommentare zum *DAI* sowie Irène SORLIN, *Le témoignage de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète sur l'état ethnique et politique de la Russie au début du xe siècle*, in: *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, 6 (1965), 147-188, hier 160 Anm. 1, J. BARDACH, *La formation et les structures de l'état polonais du xe jusqu'au xiie siècle*, in: *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nel'alto medioevo* (= *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 30, 1), Spoleto, 1983, S. 201-245, hier 205f und erneut: G. LABUDA, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, Bd. 2, Posen, 1988, S. 176-191.

(12) Vgl. hierzu nochmals LABUDA (1981, wie Anm. 11), bes. S. 17-19, und H. RÜSS, *Das Reich von Kiev*, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte Rußlands*, hrsg. v. M. HELLMANN, Bd. I, 1, Stuttgart, 1981, S. 199-429, hier S. 304f. Zur Lage der Červenischen Burgen speziell s. G. RHODE, *Die Ostgrenze Polens. Politische Entwicklung, kulturelle Bedeutung und geistige Auswirkung*, I. Band. *Im Mittelalter bis zum Jahre 1401*, Köln, Graz, 1955, S. 48-50, sowie die Kartenbeilagen 1 und 2. — Für die o.a. angeführte Quellen-Stelle vgl.: *Die Nestorchronik*, eingeleitet und kommentiert von D. TSCHIŻEWSKIJ, Wiesbaden, 1969, S. 80.

(13) Zu ihm vgl. Chr. LÜBKE, s.v. *Mieszko* I., in: *LexMa* 6 (1993) Sp. 616f. Zur Deutung des Namens Mieszko s. zuletzt H. KUNSTMANN, *Über die Herkunft der Polen vom Balkan*, in: *Die Welt der Slaven*, 29 (1984), S. 295-329, hier S. 295-301.

(14) Das Fehlen bzw. den einstweilen nur geringen Umfang byzant.-polnischer Handelsbeziehungen in der Frühzeit (9./10.Jh.) des Piastenstaates belegt: Charlotte WARNKE, *Die Anfänge des Fernhandels in Polen*, Würzburg, 1964, S. 77f., 88, 90f., 108, 112f.

(15) Vgl. zu ihm H. LUDAT, s.v., in: *LexMa*, 2 (1983) Sp. 359-364.

(16) Ich sage „bezeichnenderweise" mit Blick auf die Feststellung von HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 45: „Car et ceci est la conclusion essentielle qui se dégage de cet incident (gemeint: die hier im folgenden behandelte Botschaft Bolesławs an Basileios II., G.P.) au xie siècle comme dans les temps qui suivirent, la Pologne n'entrait en contact avec Byzance que par sa politique ruthène, chaque fois que sa domination ou tout au moins son influence s'étendait sur ces régions où l'influence avait laissé, depuis le siècle précédent, une empreinte durable".

des Heiligen ausgebrochen war, seinen Schwager, den Fürsten Svjatopolk gegen dessen Bruder Jaroslav unterstützte, gelang es ihm und seinen teilweise auch aus Sachsen stammenden Truppen, im Jahre 1018 kurzzeitig Kiev einzunehmen ([17]). Deshalb schickte Bolesław damals, wie uns allein Thietmar von Merseburg berichtet, von Kiev nach Byzanz, d.h. an Kaiser Basileios II. (976-1025), die vorhin schon kurz erwähnte Botschaft. Die Gesandten sollten dem Kaiser günstige Zusagen machen, „wenn er sich als Freund betrachten wolle. Andernfalls sollten sie erklären, sei er, Bolesław, sein hartnäckiger, unüberwindlicher Gegner" ([18]). (Gleichzeitig signalisierte Bolesław durch einen Vertrauten dem deutschen Kaiser Heinrich II. Huld und Ergebenheit ; auch dies bei Thietmar) ([19]).

Eine byzantinische Reaktion auf diese Gesandtschaft ist nicht bekannt, und Svjatopolk mußte mit seinem Bundesgenossen Bolesław Kiev schon bald vor Jaroslaw räumen. Eine Episode also, doch die Nennung der beiden Kaiser im Text Thietmars hat immerhin bei einigen Historikern die Vermutung aufkommen lassen, hinter diesem Unternehmen habe letztlich mehr gesteckt, nämlich so etwas wie „eine Aktion des westlichen Imperiums gegen Byzanz" ([20]). Wie dem auch sei, das Verhalten Bolesławs zeigt m. E. ganz klar, daß er doch Eines deutlich gespürt haben dürfte : Wer immer — von polnischer oder anderer Seite — in südrussische Angelegenheiten eingreifen wollte, hatte mit Byzanz zu rechnen und sein Verhältnis zu dieser „Großmacht" zu definieren. Politik in Kiev besaß jedenfalls, spätestens seit der 988 erfolgten Christianisierung der Kiever Rus' und ihrer hiermit verbundenen Einbeziehung in das „Byzantinische Commonwealth", immer auch eine byzantinische Dimension ([21]).

(17) Vgl. Rüss (wie Anm. 12), S. 315f.

(18) Thietmar v. Merseburg, *Chronicon/Chronik*, lat. und dtsch. ed. R. Holtzmann/W. Trillmich, Darmstadt, 1957, VIII, 33 = S. 474, Z. 30-33 : "Ad Greciam quoque sibi proximam nuncios misit, qui eiusdem imperatori bona, si vellet fidelis amicus haberi, promitterent ; sin autem, hostem firmissimum ac invincibilem fieri intimarent". (Deutsch S. 475). Vgl. auch Halecki (wie Anm. 8), S. 44, Warnke (wie Anm. 14), S. 138f. sowie Chr. Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahre 900 an)*, Teil IV, Berlin, 1987, Nr. 534, S. 86-88.

(19) Thietmar v. Merseburg (wie Anm. 18), S. 474, Z. 27-30.

(20) H. Ludat (wie Anm. 15), Sp. 363. Vgl. auch M. Hellmann, in : *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, hrsg. v. Th. Schieder, Stuttgart, 1976, S. 909. (Beide sehen einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Drohung Bolesławs und der Italienpolitik Heinrichs II.). M. Salamon, *„Amicus" or „hostis" ? Boleslaw the Valiant and Byzantium*, in : *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993) 114-120 betont demgegenüber, daß für Bolesławs Politik die gegenüber Byzanz veränderte Rolle Ungarns von größter Bedeutung war.

(21) Vgl. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, London, 1971, S. 223-232 und passim. Zur Christianisierung der Rus' vgl. zuletzt etwa : A. Poppe, *Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation der Ostslawen vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, in : *Österr. Osthefte*, 30 (1988), S. 457-506 und D. Obolensky,

Nun kann es aber, wie eingangs schon angedeutet, bei der Suche nach byzantinischen Aspekten der polnischen Geschichte nicht nur darum gehen, rein positivistisch nur konkrete Kontakte zwischen Polen und Byzanz zu vermerken oder direkte Bezugnahmen auf Byzanz oder Polen in den beiderseitigen Quellen ausfindig zu machen. Vielmehr müssen wir auch mit indirekt wirksam gewordenen byzantinischen Aspekten rechnen: Das heißt, es gibt Vorgänge, die sich nur verstehen lassen, wenn man die Einwirkung des byzantinischen „Modells" auf die außerbyzantinische, sich — nach der Terminologie Haleckis — in Alt- und Neueuropa (22) herausbildende Staatenwelt bzw. die jeweilige Rezeption dieses „Modells" (23) nicht außer acht läßt: Das Stichwort *imitatio* (bzw. *renovatio*) *imperii* (24) muß hier genügen.

Auf einen solchen indirekten, gleichwohl wichtigen byzantinischen Aspekt stoßen wir ebenfalls schon in der Herrschaftszeit des Bolesław Chrobry. Dazu müssen wir aber chronologisch zurückgehen zu dem sog. „Akt von Gnesen/Gniezno" im Marz des Jahres 1000, durch den das dortige polnische Erzbistum begründet wurde: Ich denke an die besondere Zeremonie der Rangerhöhung, die dort von Kaiser Otto III. nach seinem Eintreffen an Bolesław vollzogenen wurde (25). Für die weiterhin kontroverse Deutung der Zeremonie spielt der Bericht des sog. Gallus Anonymus (12. Jh.) (26), der diesbezüglich ausführ-

Cherson and the conversion of Rus': an anti-revisionist view, in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 13 (1989), S. 244-256.

(22) Vgl. bes. O. Halecki, *Europa. Grenzen und Gliederung seiner Geschichte. Darmstadt*, 1964, S. 28f. und dazu K. Zernack, *Osteuropa. Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte*. München, 1977, S. 25-27.

(23) Vgl. H.-G. Beck, *An den Rändern der europäischen Geschichte. Das Modell Byzanz*, in: *Jahrbuch der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1975*, S. 1-18, bes. S. 5f. Zum Niederschlag dessen in den näheren byz.-westl. Beziehungen der hier behandelten Zeit s. etwa K. Leyser, *The Tenth Century in Byzantine Western Relationships*, erstpubl. 1973, ND in: Ders., *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours 900-1250*, London, 1982, S. 103-137 und mehrere Beiträge aus dem Sammelwerk: *Kaiserin Theophanu, Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, hrsg. v. A. von Euw und P. Schreiner, Köln, 1991.

(24) Die einschlägige Literatur hier anzuführen, ist unmöglich. Stellvertretend sei daher eine Arbeit aus dem Gebiet der Frühmittelalter-Archäologie genannt: H. Vierck, *Imitatio imperii und interpretatio Germanica vor der Wikingerzeit*, in: R. Zeitler (Hrsg.), *Les pays du Nord et Byzance*, Uppsala, 1981, S. 64-99 (mit reichem Literaturverzeichnis ab S. 95).

(25) Zum Ganzen vgl. zuletzt Lübke (wie Anm. 18), Teil III, Berlin, 1986, Nr. 337, S. 176f., A. Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe. Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, Berlin u. New York, 1984, S. 300-305, G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, t. 1, Posen, 1987, S. 457-500 und bes. S. 505-510, und J. Fried, *Otto III. und Bolesław Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der „Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum. Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen*, Stuttgart, 1989, bes. S. 81-125.

(26) Zu diesem Autor s. zuletzt G. Labuda, s.v., in: *LexMA*, 4 (1989) Sp. 1099.

lichsten Quelle, eine zentrale Rolle. Ihm zufolge hat Otto III. hier den Polenfürsten zum König erhoben, indem er ihm sein eigenes Diadem zum Zeichen der Freundschaft aufgesetzt, ihm dazu einen Kreuznagel mit der Mauritiuslanze geschenkt, ihn schließlich als Bruder und Mithelfer des Reiches eingesetzt und als Freund und Bundesgenossen des römischen Volkes bezeichnet hat (27). Die Glaubwürdigkeit dieses Berichtes, gerade auch in Bezug auf die Frühdatierung der Königswürde Bolesławs (im Gegensatz zum traditionellen Datum von 1025), hat die jüngste, von Johannes Fried verfaßte Monographie zum Akt von Gnesen umfassend und m.E. überzeugend herausgearbeitet (28). Fried stützt sich dabei auf eingehende Analysen der Schriftquellen und des gesamten bisherigen Deutungsspektrums einerseits, wie auch auf eine ebenso gründliche wie unbefangene Analyse des Widmungsbildes zum Aachener Liuthar-Evangeliar andererseits : Die dort unterhalb Ottos III. zu sehenden beiden gekrönten Lanzenträger (29) deutet er nicht als symbolische Personifikationen unbestimmter „regna", sondern konkret als die zwar vom Kaiser in ihren neuen Rang eingesetzten, aber keinesfalls lehensabhängigen Könige Polens und Ungarns (30). Damit gelangt Fried zu einer Interpretation des

(27) Gallus Anonymus, *Chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. C. Maleczyński (= *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, N.S. 2), Krakau, 1952, S. 19, Z. 8 – S. 20, Z. 3 : „Cuius gloriam et potentiam et divitias imperator Romanus considerans, admirando dixit : Per coronam imperii mei, maiora sunt que video, quam fama percepi. Suorumque consultu magnatum coram omnibus adiecit : Non est dignum tantum ac virum talem sicut unum de principibus ducem aut comitem nominari, sed in regale solium glorianter redimitum diademate sublimari. Et accipiens imperiale diadema capitis sui, capiti Bolezlaui in amicicie fedus inposuit et pro vexillo triumphali clavum ei de cruce Domini cum lancea sancti Mauritij dono dedit, pro quibus illi Bolezlauus sancti Adalberti brachium redonavit. Et tanta sunt illa die dileccione couniti, quod imperator eum fratrem et cooperatorem imperii constituit, et populi Romani amicum et socium appellavit". Vgl. auch : Polens Anfänge. Gallus Anonymus : *Chronik und Taten der Herzöge und Fürsten von Polen*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von J. Bujnoch (= *Slavische Geschichtsschreiber* Bd. 10), Graz, etc., 1978, S. 57f.

(28) Fried (wie Anm. 25). Vgl. aber auch die gewisse Vorbehalte anbringende Rezension von J. Strzelczyk, in : *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne*, 43 (1991), S. 142-151.

(29) Vgl. die Abbildung des Widmungsbildes etwa bei Fried (wie Anm. 25) Abb. 1 (im Abb.-Anhang) mit den Ausschnitten Abb. 2 und 3., oder bei E. G. Grimme, *Das Evangeliar Kaiser Ottos III. im Domschatz zu Aachen*, Freiburg, etc., 1984, S. 19 (farbig), bei W. Braunfels, *Die Kunst im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*, Bd. 6 : *Das Werk der Kaiser, Bischöfe, Äbte und ihrer Künstler 750-1250*, München, 1989, S. 173 (Beschreibung S. 172), bei G. Wolf (Hrsg.), *Kaiserin Theophanu. Prinzessin aus der Fremde — des Westreichs Große Kaiserin*, Weimar u. Wien, 1991, S. 314, sowie zuletzt in : *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim*, 1993, hrsg. v. M. Brandt/A. Eggebrecht, Bd. 2, Hildesheim u. Mainz, 1993, S. 85 (farbig).

(30) Fried (wie Anm. 25), S. 21-64 und passim. Stellvertretend für bisherige Deutungen (die bei Fried alle angeführt werden) sei hier zitiert H. Keller, *Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation. Zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmäler*, in : *Früh-*

Gallus-Textes, die sich zum Teil mit den in Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1968 und 1980 geäußerten Auffassungen des polnischen Byzantinisten T. Wasilewski deckt (31), sie aber noch modifiziert und durch die Ablehnung des Vasallitätsbegriffs präzisiert (32). Wichtig ist in unserem Zusammenhang, daß nach Wasilewski nun auch erneut Fried auf die zentrale Rolle hingewiesen hat, welche die römisch-byzantinischen Komponenten (kaiserliches Recht der Königserhebung, Aufnahme in die „Familie der Könige", Herrschaftszeichen usw.) bei der von Otto III. vorgenommenen Zeremonie der Rangerhöhung Bolesławs gespielt haben. Wie auch immer man den Akt von Gnesen beurteilt: Eine Betrachtung, welche, auch in diesem Zusammenhang und im weiteren kulturellen Kontext, die Einwirkung des byzantinischen Kaisertums auf das der Ottonen (speziell Ottos III.) — wie vielleicht auch, doch um einiges schwächer, auf die Piastenherrscher (Bolesław I. und seinen Sohn Mieszko II.) — unberücksichtigt ließe, würde in jedem Fall zu kurz greifen (33). Und in Parenthese sei hinzugefügt: Auch im Hinblick auf die Beantwortung der Frage, welche Möglichkeiten überhaupt das (römisch-deutsche) „Imperium" bei der Gestaltung seines Verhältnisses zu den benachbarten „Regna" (also

mittelalterl. Studien, 19 (1985), S. 290-311, hier 304: „Er läßt die Bischöfe und Herzöge ebenso unter sich wie die gekrönten, fahnentragenden Figuren zur Rechten und Linken seines Thrones". Zum Liuthar-Evangeliar insgesamt s. zuletzt A. von Euw, in: *Vor dem Jahr 1000. Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Köln, 1991, S. 134-138, G. Wolf, *Einige weitere Bemerkungen zum Widmungsblatt des Aachener Evangeliars Ottos III.* in: Ders., (wie Anm. 29) S. 237-239 und Brandt/Eggebrecht (wie Anm. 29), S. 86f. Nr. II-36 (Beschreibung von U. Kuder, ohne Berücksichtigung der Arbeit Frieds).

(31) T. Wasilewski, *Couronnement de l'an 1000 à Gniezno et son modèle byzantin*, in: T. Manteuffel/A. Gieysztor (Hrsgg.), *L'Europe aux IXe-XIe siècles. Aux origines des États nationaux. Actes du Colloque intern. sur les origines des états européens aux IXe-XIe siècles, tenu a Poznan du 7 au 13 septembre 1965*, Warschau, 1968, S. 461-472; dann Ders., *La couronne royale — symbole de dépendance à l'époque du haut Moyen Age. Les deux couronnements de Boleslas le Vaillant prince de Pologne*, in: *La Pologne au XVe Congres Internat. des Sciences Historiques à Bucarest*, réunis et présentés par St. Bylina, Breslau, etc., S. 1980, S. 2550, hier bes. 43ff.

(32) Vgl. Fried (wie Anm. 25) S. 120 und 122 Anm. 27.

(33) Vgl. F. Dölger, *Die „Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter*, erstpubl. 1940, Neudr. in: Ders., *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 2. Aufl. Darmstadt, 1964, S. 34-69. Fried (wie Anm. 25), s. S. 36f., 46, 52f-54, 57-62, 67, 69, 118-122 u. 139-141. Zur vermuteten, aber doch wohl eher vermeintlichen Byzanz-Orientierung in kultureller Hinsicht bei König Mieszko II. (1025-1034), der nachweislich Griechisch gelernt hat, s. zuletzt Fried, S. 129 Anm. 18 ("orientierte sich zweifellos an Byzanz") und Brygida Kürbis, *Slavisch, Lateinisch und Griechisch. An der Schwelle der lateinischen Schriftkultur in Polen*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24/25 (1989/1990), S. 235-248, hier 2 246f. (skeptisch zur Byzanz-Orientierung; hält das Interesse am Griechischen für westlich inspiriert). Zu Mieszko II. vgl. Ch. Lübke, s.v., in: *LexMA*, 6, Fasz. 3 (1992) Sp. 617f.

auch zu dem der Piasten), sowie bei der Regelung der kirchlichen Jurisdiktion in ihnen bestanden hätten und wie die gefundenen Lösungen zu beurteilen seien, wäre es methodisch unklug, die mehr oder weniger engen byzantinischen Parallelen — etwa im Verhältnis des Byzantinischen Reiches zu Bulgarien, Ungarn oder die Kiever Rus' — völlig außer acht zu lassen (34).

Nicht nur im Hinblick auf diese Punkte wäre der erwähnte Aufsatz Haleckis zu ergänzen, sondern eventuell auch im Hinblick auf das Problem, inwieweit sich, falls überhaupt, ein begrenztes Einwirken der kyrillo-methodianischen Mission von Großmähren aus auf den südpolnischen Raum feststellen läßt. Doch will ich das Thema und seine Problematik hier nur kurz erwähnt haben, ohne näher darauf einzugehen : Zu viele Punkte dieser Thematik sind ungeklärt oder werden kontrovers diskutiert (35).

Bevor ich mich nun, um wieder an Halecki anzuknüpfen, mit einem großen Sprung vom 10./11. Jh. in das 14. Jh. den byzantinisch-polnischen Kontakten in der spätbyzantinischen Zeit zuwende, seien das 12. und das beginnende 13. Jh. wenigstens kurz gestreift :

Ersteres (das 12. Jh.) wegen eines Epigramms (aus dem *Cod. Marc. Gr.* 524, der eine "große Sammlung meist anonymer Epigramme und Gelegenheitsgedichte" (36) enthält) auf die Krönung Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos (1143-1180) : Darin stellt sich der anonyme Dichter vor, bei der von drei (!) Patriarchen vollzogenen Zeremonie sei eine Sechsergruppe europäischer, wohl als „fratres minores" des Kaisers betrachteter Herrscher mit zugegen gewesen, zu der neben den Herrschern der Alamannoi/Deutschen, Karantanoi/Kärntner, Ros/Russen, Ungroi/Ungarn und Tzechoi/Böhmen auch derjenige der Lechoi/Polen — damals Fürst Bolesław IV. — zählte (37).

(34) Vgl. hierzu wiederum generell OBOLENSKY (wie Anm. 21), passim, sowie ANGENENDT (wie Anm. 25).

(35) Vgl. hierzu W. SWOBODA, *Quelques mots sur la liturgie slave en Pologne et l'évêché bulgare à Cracovie*, in : *Byzance et les Slaves. Étude de Civilisation. Mélanges Ivan Dujčev*, Paris (1979), S. 411-420, S. URBAŃCZYK, *L'eredità polacca della missione de santi Cirillo e Metodio*, in : *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, ed. by E. G. FARRUGIA/R. F. TAFT/G. PIOVESANA, Rom 1988, S. 389-393, DERS., *Wirkte die methodianische Mission in Polen ?*, in : *Symposium Methodianum*, hrsg. v. K. TROST, E. VÖLKL, E. WEDEL, Neuried, 1988, S. 341-346, Brygida KÜRBIS (wie Anm. 33), S. 240-242 und 245-247, sowie DIES., *Krąg czesko-morawski a pierwsza chrystianizacja Polski*, in : *Cyryl i Metody, Apostołowie i Nauczyciele Słowian*, red. J. S. GAJEK/L. GÓRKA. Bd. I, Lublin, 1991. S. 145-158.

(36) W. HÖRANDNER, *Traditionelle und populäre Züge in der Profandichtung der Komnenenzeit*, in : *XVe Congrès Intern. d'Études Byzantines*, Rapport-Corapports. II. *Langue, littérature, philologie*. 1. *Courants archaisants et populaires dans la langue et la littérature*, Athen, 1976 (nur Separat-Druck), S. 4.

(37) Der Text des Gedichtes ist ediert bei : Sp. LAMPROS, *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 8 (1911/ ND 1969), S. 174, Ziffer 319, Z. 1-11, hier 4-7 : „*Νῦν δὲ τριὰς πατριαρχῶν προσφέρει σοι τὸ στέφος, / ἐπευλογοῦσα, βασιλεῦ, σὲ τὸν Χριστὸν Κυρίου, / στήσαντα*

Letzteres (das 13. Jh.) hingegen mit einer ersten Erwähnung von Polens großem Geschichtsschreiber des Mittelalters, Jan Długosz (1415-1480) ([38]), der in seinen *Annales Regni Poloniae*, einer Art Universalchronik für Mittel- und Osteuropa, mehrfach Bezug auf Byzanz genommen hat, ohne dabei in den älteren Partien immer nur aus zweiter Hand geschöpft zu haben ([39]). Um kurz zu zeigen, in welcher, zum Teil mehrfach gefilterten Form, die entsprechenden Informationen Eingang in seine Annalen fanden, genügt ein Blick auf seinen Eintrag zum Jahr 1200 (er schließt die Ereignisse der Jahre 1203/1204 ein, die zur Einnahme Konstantinopels durch den IV. Kreuzzug mit der anschließenden Gründung des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches führten, und beruht nahezu wörtlich auf dem entsprechenden Passus der von Długosz an mehreren Stellen seines Werkes herangezogenen Kirchengeschichte des Bartholomaeus von Lucca [1236-1326/27], dem hier wohl ein Informant aus dem byzantinischen Raum zur Verfügung stand). Darin wird von der Flucht des „Aschkarius" (= Kaiser Alexios' III. Angelos) nach Cherson, also zur Krim, und von dort zum russischen Fürstenhof von Galizien berichtet ([40]) — eine insgesamt wenig glaubwürdige, allerdings auch nicht gänzlich abwegige Version der Fluchtroute des Kaisers, der am 17. Juli 1203 die Hauptstadt verlassen

μέγα τρόπαιον μέσον ῥηγῶν ἐξάδος / Ἀλαμανῶν, Καραντανῶν, Ῥώς, Οὔγγρων, Τζέχων [καὶ] Λέχων".. Vgl. zu dieser Stelle neben S. P. Šestakov, *Заметки к стихотворениям Codicis Marciani gr. 524*, in : *VV*, 24 (1923-1926), S. 45-56, hier 49f. auch J. Koder, *Zum Bild des „Westens" bei den Byzantinern in der frühen Konnenenzeit*, in : *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters*. FS für Alfons Becker zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. v. E.-D. Hehl, H. Seibert, F. Staab, Sigmaringen, 1987, S. 191-201, hier S. 197, wo er u.a. schreibt : „Das kleine Gedicht ist deswegen bemerkenswert, weil es den Kreis jener europäischen „Königtümer" umschreibt, die am Beginn der Herrschaft Manuels I. — ohne von Byzanz abhängig zu sein - gewissermaßen als „fratres minores" in die byzantinische Reichspolitik einbeziehenswert erschienen". - Die hierdurch punktuell angedeutete, aber insgesamt häufigere Verknüpfung der polnischen Geschichte des 12. Jh. mit der Geschichte Ungarns in Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung des ungarisch-byzantinischen Verhältnisses belegt neuerdings die Arbeit von F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*, Budapest, 1989.

(38) Vgl. zu ihm G. Labuda, s.v. *Długosz*, Jan, in : *LexMA*, 3 (1986) Sp. 1139f.

(39) Dies wurde erst vor kurzem mit Bezug auf Byzanz dargelegt von W. Swoboda, *Bizancjum w przekazach Annales Jana Długosza*, in : *BP*, 4 (1989), 27-55 (Resümee : Byzanz in der Überlieferung *Annales* von Jan Długosz).

(40) Ioannes Dlugossius, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, lib. V-VI, ed. S. Budkowa et alii, Warschau, 1973, S. 177 : „(...) Aschkarius autem Constantinopolitanus imperator capta urbe versus Ponticum mare Tersonam transiit, et abinde postea Gallaciam alias Haliczіensem provinciam, que est pars Russie hactenus sub Polonorum Regno consistens, pervenit <et a Romano Russie duce benigniter et humane susceptus, tractatus atque habitus aliquanto tempore illic permansit>". – Vgl. dort auch den Kommentar auf S. 357.

hatte und erst Mitte nächsten Jahres wieder in Thrakien bezeugt ist (41). Einmal abgesehen von ihrem Wahrheitsgehalt, weist diese Nachricht immerhin auf die offenbar nicht geringe Bedeutung hin, welche die Schwarzmeer-Verbindung von Konstantinopel nach Galizien (und weiter nach Polen) via Cherson, die byzantinische Krim, damals noch (bis zum Einbruch der Tataren), besaß (42). — Soviel an dieser Stelle zu Długosz, auf den ich unten noch einmal zurückkomme.

Begeben wir uns jetzt also in die 2. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., und zwar in die Schlußphase der Regierung Kasimirs (III.) des Großen (1333-1370) (43) ! Seine Gebietserwerbungen im Osten erstreckten sich u.a. auf den Süden des Fürstentums Galič/Halicz (seit 1366), somit auf ein von orthodoxen Christen bewohntes Gebiet. Es unterstand seit 1303 kirchlich nicht mehr der Metropolie Kiev, sondern bildete nun innerhalb des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel die Metropolie Galizien (*Γάλιτζα*) ; ihre Existenz blieb indes, je nach den politischen Machtverhältnissen, umstritten, d. h. Kiev (bzw. Moskau) erhob auch weiterhin des öfteren Anspruch auf das einstige Suffraganbistum Halicz (44).

(41) Vgl. hierzu G. PRINZING, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204-1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der bvzant. Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges*, München, 1972, S. 7 und S. 18 Anm. 28-32 (mit Hinweis auch auf die entsprechende Nachricht in der allerdings bedeutend späteren Gustynskaja Letopís), und ergänzend — mit dem Hinweis auf Bartholomaeus von Lucca als Quelle - SWOBODA (wie Anm. 39), S. 38f. (ohne Kenntnis meiner Arbeit). Anders als Swoboda bin ich der Meinung, daß der Name „Aschkarius" (= Laskaris) uns nicht unbedingt zwingt, die Notiz mit der 2. Eroberung Konstantinopels (12.4.1204) in Verbindung zu bringen, vielmehr dürfte der Name des Alexios Angelos hier (aber anscheinend nicht in der Vorlage der o.a. russ. Chronik) im Prozeß der Überlieferung wegen der bald folgenden Laskaridenherrschaft in die „aktuellere" Namensform übergegangen sein. Es steht ja fest, daß sich Alexios III. in die nahegelegene Schwarzmeer-Küstenstadt Debeltos begeben hat (s. dazu auch S. REK, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romanie i markiz Bonifacy z Montferrat*, in : *BP*, 4 (1989), S. 69-78, hier 71f.), von wo aus eben die weitere Flucht bis nach Halicz nicht undenkbar wäre.

(42) Vgl. zur byzant. Krim zuletzt M. I. ZOLOTAREV/I. ČIČUROV, s.v. *Chersonesos*, in : *LexMA*, 2 (1983) Sp. 1794-1796, O. P(RITSAK)/A. C(UTLER) s.v. *Cherson*, in : *ODB*, 1 (1991), S. 418f. und Alla I. ROMANČUK, *Cherson im Mittelalter : städtische Funktionen und ihre Widerspiegelung in den Quellen*, in : *Byzantinoslavica*, 53 (1992), S. 202-212, mit weiteren Nachweisen. Zum Handel über Cherson vgl. auch J. FERLUGA, *Der byzantinische Handel nach dem Norden im 9. und 10 Jh.*, erstpubl. 1987, ND in : DERS., *Untersuchungen zur byzant. Provinzverwaltung. VI.-XII. Jahrhundert*. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Amsterdam, 1992, S. 131-157, hier 147f.

(43) Zu ihm s. G. LABUDA, s.v., in : *LexMA* 4 (1991) Sp. 1031f.

(44) Vgl. zu Halicz/Galič/Galitza politisch und/bzw. kirchlich (mit den Suffraganen Vladimir Volynsk, Cholm, Peremysl', Luck und Turov) A. POPPE, s.v. *Halič-Volhynien*, in : *LexMA*, 5 (1989) Sp. 1874f., S.C. F(RANKLIN), s.v. *Galitza*, in : *ODB*, 2 (1992), S. 818, V. LAURENT, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, Bd. V,1, Paris, 1963, S. 612f. und G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I, Padua, 1988, S. 368.

Wegen dieser Rechtslage im kirchlichen Bereich mußte sich Kasimir III., als er noch kurz vor seinem Tod den seit langem vakanten Metropolitenstuhl von Galizien wieder neu besetzen lassen wollte, direkt an den Patriarchen, Philotheos Kokkinos (45), wenden. Sein Brief, dessen griechischen Wortlaut uns der *Codex Vindob. hist. Gr.* 47 (einer der beiden Wiener Kodizes mit großen Teilen des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel) (46) überliefert, ist nicht nur bedeutend als Quelle für die Kirchengeschichte Galiziens wegen der Aufzählung der vorherigen Metropoliten, sondern auch allgemein als Dokument der byzantinisch-polnischen Beziehungen. Denn vonseiten der polnischen Herrscher gibt es überhaupt nur zwei Briefe nach Byzanz, die wir auch im Wortlaut kennen : eben diesen Brief an den Patriarchen (47), sowie den lateinisch abgefaßten Brief König Władysław II. Jagiełło vom Sommer 1420 (hierzu s. unten). Vielleicht hat den ursprünglich zweifellos slavischen Wortlaut des Briefes an den Patriarchen von Kasimir III. (48) der Kandidat für das Metropolitenamt in Halicz, Bischof Antonij/Antonios, selbst ins Griechische übersetzt ; jedenfalls war auch er es, der den Brief nach Konstantinopel überbrachte, weil er dort seine Weihe erhielt : Die Patriarchats-Synode hat, wie aus der entsprechenden, vom Mai 1371 datierenden Akte im Patriarchats-Register hervorgeht (der o.a. Brief Kasimirs III. ist ihr anhangsweise beigefügt), sogleich dem Wunsch des Königs entsprochen, schon um die sonst von ihm

Zur Kirchenpolitik : F. Tinnefeld, *Byzantinisch-russische Kirchenpolitik im 14. Jahrhundert*, in : *BZ*, 67 (1974), S. 359-384, hier 362 und J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, Cambridge, etc., 1981, S. 92-95 und 191-193.

(45) Zu ihm s. zuletzt Alice-Mary Talbot, s.v., in : *ODB*, 3 (1991), 1662.

(46) Vgl. hierzu das von O. Kresten verfaßte Kapitel „Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel" in der Einleitung zu Bd. 1 der Neuedition des Registers : H. Hunger/O. Kresten (Hrsgg.), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 1. Teil : *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1331*. Wien, 1981, bes. S. 36-40.

(47) Hier benutzte Text-Edition : F. Miklosich/I. Müller (Hrsgg.), *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. I. Wien, 1860, S. 577f., Nr. 318 ; Regest : J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, *Les actes des patriarches*, Fasc. 5, *Les regestes de 1310-1376*. Paris, 1977, Nr. 2622 (pièce annexe), S. 525, zur Datierung des Briefes auf ca. Juni 1370 ("les envoyés de la Lithuanie et de la Pologne arrivèrent vers juillet 1370") vgl. ebda. unter „critique" ; vgl. zu seinem Inhalt auch die Regesten Nr. 2163 (Schreiben des Patriarchen Esaias von 1330/31), S. 121f. (critique), und Nr. 2584 (Schreiben des Patriarchen Philotheos Kokkinos von Juni-September 1370), S. 495 (critique). Ergänze zu der bei Darrouzès, S. 525 mit angegebenen Literatur außer Halecki (wie Anm. 8), S. 46, Rhode (wie Anm. 12), S. 274f. (mit fehlerhaft wiedergegebenen bzw. übersetzten Textpassagen in Anm. 143-144), Tinnefeld (wie Anm. 44), S. 373 jetzt Meyendorff (wie Anm. 44), S. 67 und 191-193 ; s. auch unten Anm. 50.

(48) Daß sich die Kanzlei Kasimirs III. in Galizien sonst des Slavischen bediente, zeigt Chr. S. Stang, *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Großfürstentums Litauen*, Oslo, 1935, S. 6f.

angedrohte Unterstellung dieses Gebietes unter die römische Kirche zu verhindern (49). Um den Leser nun mit dem interessanten Brief Kasimirs III. näher vertraut zu machen, hier eine teilweise bereits erläuterte Paraphrase des Textes (mit wörtlich übersetzten Partien):

"Dem Primas (*πρωτόθρονον*) und allerheiligsten Patriarchen <des> Konstantinopels <der> ökumenischen Synode"(!) werde sowohl von seinem <geistlichen> Sohn, *„dem König Kasimir des Landes Polen und Klein-Russlands"* (gr. Text der hervorgehobenen Partien: *„ἀπὸ ... τὸν κράλην Καζήμηρον τῆς γῆς τῆς Λαχίας καὶ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ῥωσίας"*), als auch von den Fürsten (*ῥηγάδας*) <Klein-> Rußlands, die dem christlichen Glauben anhängen, die Proskynese und „viel Schlagen des Antlitzes" (*πολὺς δαρμὸς τοῦ προσώπου*, womit das *Челобитье*/"Stirnschlagen" aus den Grußformeln der altrussischen Urkunden wörtlich — und für die Byzantier sicherlich unverständlich — übersetzt ist; folglich ist auf eine russische Vorlage des griechischen Textes zu schließen) entboten; das Gleiche geschehe auch von seiten der Adligen (*ἀπὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας*) der Russen.

"Wir erbitten von Dir unseren Erzbischof" (im gr. Text weist auch die Konstruktion von *ζητοῦμεν* mit dem Genetiv *τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου* — statt Akkusativ — wieder eindeutig auf eine russische Vorlage): das Land verkomme jetzt ohne Gesetz, weil das Gesetz zugrunde gerichtet worden sei. Seit eh und je sei Halicz Metropolie gewesen. — Es folgen die Namen von vier Metropoliten (Niphon, Petros, Gabriel und Theodoros). — Die Fürsten (*οἱ ῥηγάδες*/*οἱ ῥῆγες*) <Klein->Rußlands, seine Verwandten, seien aus <Klein-> Rußland weggegangen, das Land sei daher verwaist gewesen, so daß ihm, Kasimir, König Polens, das Gebiet <Klein->Rußlands zugefallen sei. Er bitte nun ihn, den „heiligen Vater, Patriarch der ökumenischen Synoden" (!), um ihren Bischof Antonios, den er mit den Fürsten und Adligen ausgewählt habe. „Erteilt dem Antonios die Metropolitenweihe, damit den Russen nicht das Gesetz (*ὁ νόμος*) abhanden geht, damit es (das Gesetz) nicht aufgelöst wird". Wenn dieses (die Weihe) aber nicht geschehe, so „seid nachher nicht über uns betrübt: wir werden gezwungen sein, die Russen auf den Glauben der Lateiner zu taufen, wenn es keinen Metropoliten in <Klein-> Russland gibt, denn das Land kann nicht ohne Gesetz sein" (50). (Die Unterschrift wurde nicht mit überliefert.)

(49) Vgl. zur betreffenden Synodalpraxis vom Mai 1371 das Regest DARROUZÈS (wie Anm. 47), Nr. 2622, S. 524.

(50) Vgl. für die Textnachweise oben Anm. 47. — Auf eine wörtliche Übersetzung des ganzen Briefes habe ich hier verzichtet, da sich bei MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 287 eine englische Übersetzung findet. Allerdings hat Meyendorff den Passus des „Stirnschlagens" nicht als Grußformel erkannt, sondern jeweils mit „very respectful petition" übersetzt.

Daß dieser Brief trotz der in ihm enthaltenen volkssprachlichen Elemente (51) weniger schlicht als vielmehr ungelenk, ja teilweise fehlerhaft (s. etwa die Titulatur des Patriarchen und die Grußformel) abgefaßt worden ist, spricht übrigens noch zusätzlich zu den oben angeführten Indizien klar für eine provinzielle „Rohübersetzung" aus dem Russischen (möglicherweise, wie oben schon angedeutet, aus der Feder des Kandidaten Antonij selbst) (52).

Soviel zu dem Schreiben Kasimirs III., das, abgesehen von seinen interessanten sprachlichen Aspekten, deswegen eingehender zu behandeln war, weil es exemplarisch die zunehmende Bedeutung unterstreicht, die künftig der Kirchenpolitik im Rahmen der byzantinisch-polnischen Beziehungen zukam. Denn schon wegen ihrer Kompliziertheit muß die Kirchenpolitik hier weitgehend außer Betracht bleiben. Nur soviel sei noch gesagt, daß sich die Personalunion zwischen Polen und Litauen unter Władysław II. Jagiełło, der mit Annahme der polnischen Königswürde im Jahre 1386 katholisch geworden war (53), für Byzanz eher ungünstig auswirken mußte : Als sich nämlich Byzanz

(51) Man beachte z.B. die Konstruktion von *ἀπὸ* mit Akkusativ. — Jedenfalls unterscheidet sich der Brief sprachlich erheblich vom Gros der übrigen im Patriarchatsregister enthaltenen Schreiben ; ein noch volkssprachlicher gefärbtes (aber stilistisch etwas flüssiger geschriebenes) Gegenstück zum Brief Kasimirs III. bildet bezeichnenderweise der hier nicht zu behandelnde Brief des litauischen Großfürsten Olgerd/Algirdas (1354-1377) von 1371 an Patriarch Philotheos : MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER (wie Anm. 47), Nr. 320, S. 580-581, Regest : DARROUZÈS (wie Anm. 47) Nr. 2625 (pièce annexe), S. 529 (in der dort mit angegebenen Literatur zu dem Schreiben ergänze MEYENDORFF, wie Anm. 44, S. 193f.). Vgl. auch zu beiden Schreiben H. HUNGER, *Zum Stil und zur Sprache des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel*, in : DERS. (Hrsg.), *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel* I, Wien, 1981, S. 11-60, hier S. 54f.

(52) In der bisherigen Literatur ging man auf die oben besprochenen sprachlichen und diplomatischen Eigenheiten des Briefes kaum näher ein, doch bildet MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), der S. 191 kurz vermerkt hat, der Brief sei „preserved in a very rough Greek text, composed by a clerk, whose native tongue was clearly Slavic", zusammen mit HUNGER (wie Anm. 51) hier eine Ausnahme. — Zur Person des Antonij : Vgl. RHODE (wie Anm. 12), S. 274f., der zu Recht bemerkt, wir erführen „nichts über seine Herkunft und seinen bisherigen Bischofssitz". - Antonij amtierte als Metropolit anscheinend bis „1389 (?)"/„1391", wie aus D. BLAZEJOWSKYJ, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan church (861-1990)*. Rom, 1990, S. 105 bzw. bei TINNEFELD (wie Anm. 44), S. 381, dem *PLP*, Fasz 1, Wien, 1976, Nr. 1095, insbesondere aber J. DARROUZÈS, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 6 : *Les regestes de 1377 à 1410*, Paris, 1979, Nr. 2893 (critique) und Nr. 2935 (critique 2.) hervorgeht ; demgegenüber das Ende der Amtszeit Antonijs bei ca. 1377 anzusetzen, wofür MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 202 Anm. 11 eintrat, ist daher verfehlt. - Daß vielleicht Antonij selbst Urheber der griechischen Übersetzung des Herrscher-Briefes war, vermute ich aus dem Grund, daß Antonij als designierter Metropolit über gewisse Griechischkenntnise verfügt haben dürfte, um in der Lage zu sein, mit seinen orthodoxen Amtsbrüdern sich zu verständigen. So könnte Kasimir III. wegen mangelnder Griechischkenntnisse seiner eigenen Kanzleibeamten darauf verfallen sein, den Kandidaten selbst mit der Übersetzung zu beauftragen.

(53) Vgl. MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 243f. und HELLMANN, *Das Groß-*

wegen der osmanischen Bedrohung um 1396/97 an kirchlichen Unions-Verhandlungen, die unter Vermittlung des Kiever Metropoliten Kiprian von polnischer Seite vorgeschlagen wurden, weniger interessiert zeigte als an sofortiger Militärhilfe von Polen im Verein mit Ungarn, da reagierte der polnische König nicht weiter (54). Das hier sichtbar werdende Junktim zwischen Kirchenunion und militärischer Hilfe trat allerdings nicht allein in den damaligen polnisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen zutage, sondern es kennzeichnete, ja belastete generell die Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und dem lateinischen Westen (55). Freilich ist, wie Halecki zu Recht bemerkte, im Hinblick auf den polnischen König auch zu berücksichtigen, daß er sein militärisches Augenmerk damals vor allem auf die Goldene Horde richten mußte, die seinem Cousin Witold von Litauen 1399 die Niederlage an der Vorskla beibrachte (56). Für eine Hilfsaktion zugunsten von Byzanz blieb also Władysław II. Jagiełło, den der byzantinische Patriarch Antonios IV. in seinem diesbezüglichen Brief vom Januar 1397 protokollgemäß als „edelsten... König und Herrn ganz Polens, Litvorußlands, des (Schwarzmeer-)Küstenlandes etc." (*εὐγενέστατε ... κράλη καὶ αὐθέντα πάσης, Πόλτζης, Λιτβορωσίας, Παραθαλασσίας κτλ.*) angeredet hatte (57), ohnehin kaum Spielraum.

Zu byzantinisch-polnischen Kontakten in der Unionsfrage und der Hilfe gegen die Türken kam es, begünstigt durch das Konzil von Konstanz, erst wieder um 1415 (58) und vor allem um 1420, gegen Ende der Regierungszeit

fürstentum Litauen bis 1569, in : *Handbuch der Geschichte Rußlands*, hrsg. v. DEMS., Bd. I, 2, Stuttgart, 1989, S. 752.

(54) Vgl. zum Ganzen HALECKI (wie Anm. 8) S. 49, TINNEFELD (wie Anm. 44), S. 379-381 und MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 252f. Zu Kiprian s. zuletzt Chr. HANNICK, s.v., in : *LexMA*, 5 (1991) Sp. 1161, S. C. F(RANKLIN), s.v., in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 1130, sowie T.M. TRAJDOS, *Metropolici kijowscy Cyprian i Grzegorz Camblak (Bułgarscy duchowni prawosławni) a problemy cerkwi prawosławnej w państwie polskolitewskim u schyłku XIV i w pierwszej ćwierci XV w.*, in : *BP*, 2 (1985), S. 211-234.

(55) Vgl. etwa H. G. BECK, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich*, Göttingen, 1980, S. 241-243.

(56) HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 50f., vgl. auch MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 245.

(57) MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER (wie Anm. 47) II, Nr. 515, S. 280-282, Regest : DARROUZÈS (wie Anm. 52) Nr. 3039, S. 302f., wo D. auch darauf hinweist, daß hier erstmals in der Patr.-Korrespondenz die Bezeichnung *Πόλτζη* für Polen (statt *Λαχία*) verwendet wird. Vgl. in Ergänzung zu der dort angegebenen Literatur HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 49, RHODE (wie Anm. 12), S. 357, H. DITTEN, *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, Berlin 1968, S. 205-207 (zur byz. Benennung Polens), TINNEFELD (wie Anm. 44), S. 381, MEYENDORFF (wie Anm. 44), S. 253 und I. DJURIĆ, *Sumrak Vizantije. Vreme Jovana VIII Paleologa 1392-1448*, Belgrad, 1984 (2. Aufl. Zagreb, 1989, mit veränderter Paginierung), S. 90 Anm. 90 (S. 72 Anm. 90), und S. 114 (S. 92). – Zur Titulatur entsprechend dem Usus der Patriarchatskanzlei, vgl. J. DARROUZÈS, *Ekthésis Néa. Manuel de pittakia du XIVe siècle*, in : *Revue des études byzantines*, 27 (1969), S. 5-127, hier 99-103 und 119.

(58) HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 51-53.

Kaiser Manuels II. Palaiologos (1391-1425) ([59]), was uns der erneute direkte Briefwechsel der Herrscher beweist ; hierher gehört der schon oben kurz erwähnte, im Wortlaut erhaltene Brief Władysławs II. Jagiełło von 1420, die Antwort auf einen Brief Manuels II. ([60]). Diese und weitere gut belegten Bemühungen auf diplomatischer und kirchlicher Ebene verliefen zwar lange Zeit scheinbar im Sande, bis sie doch noch — neben dem Konzil von Basel (1431-1449) — zum Unionskonzil von Ferrara/Florenz 1438/39 ([61]) und zu dem bekanntlich katastrophal ausgegangenen Feldzug von Varna 1444 führten.

Beide Geschehens-Bereiche sind natürlich viel zu komplex, um hier, selbst unter dem Blickwinkel unseres Themas, ausgiebig dargestellt zu werden. Ich beschränke mich daher darauf, einige Hinweise auf wichtige Personen, spezielle Punkte und Quellen zu geben.

Um zum Beispiel im Rahmen unseres Themas Aufschluß über die Auswirkungen der genannten Konzilien auf Polen zu erhalten, ist es vielleicht am besten, den Blick näher auf zwei mehr oder weniger bedeutsame Akteure zu richten :

Der eine von ihnen ist ein gewisser Demetrios (nach Halecki : Démétrius de Constantinople) : Das Konzil von Basel schickte diesen Mann, den es mit Griechischunterricht betraut hatte, nach Krakau, wo er Halecki zufolge „devait enseigner sa langue à l'Université de Cracovie, dans un pays assez proche — disait-on — de la Grèce". — Was aus ihm dort und späterhin wurde, läßt sich m. W. einstweilen leider ebensowenig klären wie sein Patronym ([62]).

(59) Vgl. zu ihm G. PRINZING, s.v., in : *BLGS*, 3 (1979), S. 91-93 und A(lice)-M(ary) T(ALBOT)/A. C(UTLER), s.v., in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 1291f.

(60) Vgl. HALECKI (wie Anm. 8) S. 54-56, F. DÖLGER/P. WIRTH, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 5. Teil : *Regesten von 1341-1453*, München 1965, Nr. 3381, J. W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick/New Jersey, 1969, S. 338 und DJURIĆ (wie Anm. 57), S. 213 (S. 172).

(61) Vgl. zu Basel : E. MEUTHEN, s.v. *Basel, Konzil* v., in : *LexMA*, 1 (1980) Sp. 1517-1521, sowie A. N. E. SCHOFIELD, s.v. *Basel-Ferrara-Florenz.* I., in : *TRE*, 5 (1980), S. 284-289 und zu Ferrara/Florenz J. L. VAN DIETEN/ s.v. in : *LexMA*, 4 (1989) Sp. 390-393, A. P(APADAKIS), s.v. *Ferrara-Florence*, in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 783 (Angaben zu den Aktenpublikationen, incl. den slavischen, unvollständig) und J. GILL, s.v. *Basel-Ferrara-Florenz II*, in : *TRE*, 5 (1980), S. 289-296. — Bezüglich der bei HALECKI (wie Anm. 8) S. 59 in Zusammenhang mit dem Basler Konzil erwähnten Gesandtschaft(en) auch zum polnischen König (1434, 1436?) vgl. auch DÖLGER/WIRTH (wie Anm. 60) Nr. 3439 (chron., für Gesandtschaft 1434) und DJURIĆ (wie Anm. 57), S. 317 (für eine byz. Polen-Gesandtschaft 1436 September, bei DÖLGER/WIRTH nicht verzeichnet).

(62) HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 60 (hier auch das Zitat). Zum Wirken des Demetrios in Basel vgl. J. SCHWEIZER, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Basler Universität (1432-1448)*, in : *Aus fünf Jahrhunderten Schweizerischer Kirchengeschichte. Zum sechzigsten Geburtstag für P. Wernle*, Basel, 1932, S. 1-21, hier S. 10, mit dem Hinweis, daß Demetrios „am 31. Mai 1437 mit Vorlesungen über griechische Grammatik betraut worden

Der zweite Akteur ist der griechische Metropolit Isidor(os) von Kiev, der auf orthodoxer Seite neben Bessarion der stärkste Befürworter der Kirchenunion war. Im Anschluß an das Konzil von Ferrara/Florenz wurde er Ende 1439, kurz vor seiner Rückreise nach Rußland, zum Kardinal erhoben (ebenso Bessarion). Das Weitere ist vielleicht bekannt : Die Union hatte, anders als in den west-russischen Gebieten der Kiev/Moskauer Metropolie, im Moskauer Gebiet nicht zuletzt aus politischen Gründen wegen der Gegnerschaft zu Polen/Litauen, keine Chance. So wurde Isidor in Moskau gleich nach Verkündung der Union verhaftet, konnte aber hier wie auch aus einer zweiten Haft in Tver' entkommen und wieder nach Italien zurückkehren. Später wirkte er dort und in Konstantinopel, wo er 1452 — kurz vor der osmanischen Eroberung — ebenfalls die auch hier unpopuläre Union verkündete. Seinen Lebensabend beschloß er 1463 in Rom (63). Zu ihm gibt es reichlich Quellenmaterial, das sich aber nur selten auf Polen bezieht. Hiervon sollen zwei Texte erwähnt bzw. zitiert werden, die beide in den *Acta Slavica Concilii Florentini* ediert sind :

Erstens der nüchterne Bericht über die Reise Isidors von Moskau zum Florentiner Konzil und zurück (Polen wird nur auf der Rückreise durchquert), verfaßt von russischen Anonymi aus der Begleitung Isidors. Nur selten vermerkt der Bericht in diesem Teil mehr als nur die Namen der tangierten Orte und die Entfernungen. Isidor traf in Süd-Polen, Neu-Sandez, am 27. März 1440 ein und verließ das Land, in welchem er überall die Union verkündete, nach seinem Aufenthalt in Chelm (Cholm) Ende Juli in Richtung Wilna — Kiev. Weitere Stationen in damaligen Polen waren u.a. Krakau, Przemyśl, Lwów und Halicz. Aus dem Reisebericht hier eine kurze Kostprobe (gefolgt von der lateinischen Übersetzung des Herausgebers) : „*А от Вохны до Кракова 5 мил. Ту убо видѣхом корьля Володислава и брата его Казимира. Под Краковым рѣка Висла ; та убо река впала в море. А от Кра-*

(war) und sich noch im Juni 1438 in Basel" befand und daß er „als armer Schlucker ... nur um des Geldes willen dem Konzil seine Dienste antrug" ; und nun vor allem J. HELMRATH, *Das Basler Konzil 1431-1449. Forschungsstand und Probleme*, Köln und Wien, 1987, S. 159 (schreibt hier u.a. in Anm. 329, Demetrios sei „offenbar 1439 an die Universität Krakau 'weggelobt'" worden), 174 und 381. Dieser Demetrios (den man, soweit ich sehe, bisher nicht näher zu bestimmen versucht bzw. vermocht hat) ist also nicht, wie man zunächst vermuten könnte, mit dem byzant. Konzilsgesandten Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites zu identifizieren, da dieser schon 1435 wieder zurück nach Konstantinopel zurückgekehrt war, s. zu ihm zuletzt DÖLGER/WIRTH (wie Anm. 60) Nr. 3437 und 3439, PLP, Fasz. 7, Wien, 1987, Nr. 17981 und DJURIĆ (wie Anm. 57), S. 309-312 (S. 251-254).

(63) Vgl. zu ihm O. KRESTEN, s.v., in : *LexMA*, 5 (1991) Sp. 675f. und A. P(APADAKIS), s.v. *Isidore of Kiev*, in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 1015f. — Obwohl HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 60 betont, Isidor „ait joué dans l'histoire polonaise un rôle plus considérable que n'importe quel autre Grec", geht er nur kurz auf ihn ein, weil er meint, Isidors Wirken berühre nur indirekt „notre sujet" — eine Ansicht, die ich nicht teile.

кова до Бохны 25 врѣстъ, от Бохны града до мѣста Воинича 4 мили."/ „A Bochnia Cracoviam 5 miliaria. Ibi regem Wladyslaum et fratrem eius Casimirum invisimus. Sub Cracovia amnis Wisla, in mare defluit. A Cracovia ad Bochnia 25 verstae, ab oppido Bochnia ad locum Wojnicz 4 miliaria" (64). Der König, den Isidor in Krakau antraf, war der noch junge Władysław III. (1434-1444) (65), der gerade auch die ungarische Krone angetragen bekommen hatte und kurz vor der Abreise nach Ungarn stand ; von dort aus sollte er 1443 den Türken-Feldzug nach Sofia und schließlich nach Varna führen. Als Herrscher stand er, wie auch der litauische Fürst Alexander (Olelko) von Kiev, den Unionsbestrebungen Isidors wohlwollend gegenüber (66).

Der andere Text ist ein Brief, den Isidor während dieser Reise am 27. Juli 1440 verfaßt hat und der sowohl im *Cod. Vat. slav.* 12 (fol. 18^{v}-19^{r}) als auch in einer wohl kaum noch erhaltenen Posener Handschrift überliefert ist. Er richtet sich an die Stadt Chelm und ihren „Starost" und belegt Isidors Sorge um die Angelegenheiten der dortigen Kirche. Sein Eintreten für die Union deuten lediglich folgende, hier der Kürze halber nur in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Editors angeführten Worte am Schluß des Briefes an : „Cum nos, Poloni et Rutheni, Orthodoxi Christiani sumus, decet ecclesias Dei earumque sacerdotes observare et non offendere ; sumus enim nunc, Deo favente, una sodalitas Christiana, Latini et Rutheni" (67). Festzuhalten bleibt, daß die oben

(64) J. KRAJCAR (Hrsg.), *Peregrinatio metropolitae Isidori ad concilium Florentinum*, in : *Acta Slavica Concilii Florentini. Ad fidem manuscriptorum* edidit, addita versione latina. Rom 1976, S. 3-46, hier : S. 40, Z. 13-18. Vgl. dazu : DERS., *Metropolitan Isidore's Journey to the Council of Florence. Some Remarks*, in : *OCP*, 38 (1972), S. 367-387, hier 384. — Der oben zitierte Passus gehört übrigens zu dem in die (kommentierte) deutsche Übersetzung von G. STÖKL (in : *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern aus gesehen*. Graz, etc., 1954 = *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, Bd. 2, S. 149-189) nicht mit aufgenommenen Schlußteil des Reiseberichts.

(65) Vgl. zu ihm I. HUNYADI, s.v. *Wladisław I. Jagiello*, in : *BLGS*, 4 (1981), S. 469f. und J. B(AK)/A. K(AZHDAN), s.v. *Vladislav III Jagello*, in : *ODB*, 3 (1991) S. 2185. - Bei dieser Gelegenheit ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß Isidor, noch als Abt des Demetriosklosters von Konstantinopel, ein paar Jahre früher, nämlich 1434, schon einmal als einer der byzant. Konzilsgesandten zum Baseler Konzil in Krakau weilte, und zwar bei der Anreise nach Basel, vgl. HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 59f. und DÖLGER/WIRTH (wie Anm. 60) Nr. 3439.

(66) Vgl. O. HALECKI, *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)*, Rom, 1958, S. 56 und 60.

(67) KRAJCAR (1976, wie Anm. 64), S. 143-145, hier 143 (zu den Hss) und 144, Z. 20-24. Diesbezüglich und insgesamt zum Aufenthalt Isidors in Polen und seinen ruthenischen Gebieten vgl. besonders HALECKI (wie Anm. 66), S. 56-60. Herr Dr. K. Ilski, Posen, hat sich intensiv bemüht, etwas über den Verbleib der von KRAJCAR, 143 (mit weiteren Nachweisen) erwähnten Posener Hs herauszubekommen. Das Ergebnis seiner Recherchen ist leider negativ, da sich die Hs, die dem Ersteditor O. BODNJANSKI 1846 vorlag, im Bestand der Universitätsbibliothek Posen nicht (mehr) nachweisen läßt. Möglicherweise hatte, so die Vermutung Ilskis (Brief vom 19.1.1994), Bodnjanski eine (inzwischen verschollene) Hs aus dem Privatbesitz des ersten Biblio-

skizzierten Aktivitäten des Byzantiners Isidor von Kiev keineswegs von nur ephemerer Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte Polens und seiner damaligen „ruthenischen" Gebiete nach der Union von Florenz waren : Zwar führte diese Union schon bald zur Spaltung der Kievo-Moskauer Metropolie (Autokephalie Moskaus 1459) und verstärkte den kirchenpolitischen Antagonismus auf deren einstigem, riesigen Gebiet ebensosehr, wie sie auch die Beziehungen zwischen Moskau und Konstantinopel vorübergehend belastete ; dennoch legte sie mit die Grundlage für die spätere Union von Brest (Ende 1596).

Doch wenden wir den Blick wieder zurück zu dem Herrscher, durch den Polen am engsten mit der bzyantinischen bzw. südosteuropäischen Geschichte verknüpft wird, dem eben schon erwähnten Władysław III. „Warnenczyk". Entscheidend für sein Eingreifen im Südosten Europas war, wie angedeutet, seine Übernahme der ungarischen Königswürde. Denn Ungarn, das sich bereits mehrfach türkisch-osmanischen Angriffen ausgesetzt sah, hatte an der Stärkung der Türkenabwehr nach dem Scheitern des „Kreuzzugs" von Nikopolis (1396), an dem auch ein Kontingent polnischer Kämpfer beteiligt war, ein vitales Interesse (68). Ebenso wichtig war aber in diesem Fall die breite Unterstützung, die der „Lange Feldzug" (69) des Königs durch eine Koalition christlicher Mächte als päpstlich gefördertes Kreuzzugsunternehmen erhielt ; schließlich sollte man nicht vergessen, daß dem König in Johannes/János Hunyadi († 11.8.1456) ein erfahrener Ratgeber und glänzender Stratege zur Seite stand (70).

Dennoch : Der König fand am 10. November 1444 bei Varna den Tod, während Hunyadi entkommen konnte. Dieses tragische Ende rief nicht nur lähmendes Entsetzen hervor, sondern ließ auch, wie zu erwarten, auf beiden Seiten diverse Spekulationen aufkommen : War es Unvorsichtigkeit des ruhmgierigen, leichtsinnigen Königs, hat Hunyadi den König bewußt in den Tod geschickt, um die Herrschaft zu erringen, und war der Tod des Königs nicht vielleicht die gerechte Strafe für den unleugbaren Bruch des Friedens von Szeged (gemeint ist der Waffenstillstand auf 10 Jahre, den der König dort mit Abgesandten Sultan Murads II., wohl am 1. August 1444, geschlossen

thekars der UB Posen, Lukaszewicz, benutzt, ohne bei der Edition des Briefes hierauf eigens hingeweisen zu haben. Dr. Ilski sei hier nochmals sehr gedankt.

(68) Vgl. allgemein J. M. Bak, *Das Königreich Ungarn im Hochmittelalter 1060-1444*, in : *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, hrsg. v. Th. Schieder, Bd. 2, Stuttgart, 1987, S. 1103-1124, hier 1118. Zum Kreuzzug und zur Schlacht von Nikopolis, s. J. M. Bak, s.v., in : *LexMA*, 6, Fasz. 6 (1993) Sp. 1191.

(69) Zu ihm s. Bistra Cvetkova, *La bataille mémorable des peuples*, Sofia, 1971, speziell das Kapitel : La „longue" campagne de Vladislav III Jagellon et de Jean Hunyadi sur les territoires balkaniques, S. 256-320.

(70) Vgl. zu ihm K. Nehring, s.v. *Hunyadi, Johannes*, in : *LexMA*, 5 (1991) Sp. 226 sowie A. K(azhdan)/J. B(ak), s.v. *Hunyadi, János*, in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 959.

hatte) ? An den heftigen diplomatischen Aktivitäten zur Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Kreuzzuges war selbstverständlich Byzanz, das sich die Befreiung aus osmanischer Umklammerung und Vasallität erhoffte, entscheidend beteiligt ; dementsprechend groß ist der Niederschlag der Ereignisse auch in den byzantinischen Quellen, und aus der Byzantinistik stammt ein Gutteil der umfangreichen Sekundärliteratur zum Komplex „Varna", glänzend verarbeitet in dem magistralen Werk von Kenneth Setton über das „Papsttum und die Levante" (71).

Allerdings ist dazu im Hinblick auf die polnischen und byzantinischen Quellen zur Vorgeschichte des Feldzuges eine Ergänzung anzubringen : Der von Długosz in seinen Annalen im angeblichen Wortlaut wiedergegebene Brief, den Kaiser Johannes VIII. am 30. Juli 1444 aus Mistra (Peloponnes) an Władysław III. zur Stärkung seines Angriffswillens geschickt haben soll (72), hat höchstwahrscheinlich nicht den Kaiser zum Verfasser. Denn Armin Hohlweg konnte in einem 1980 erschienenen Aufsatz zeigen, daß dieses Schreiben in seiner bei Długosz gebotenen Version als nicht mehr völlig authentisch gelten und auch die Verfasserangabe „Johannes" nicht stimmen kann ; vielmehr dürfte der Brief, in dem Władysław III. sogar mit Titus und Justinian (I.) verglichen wurde, von dem damals selbständigen Herrscher der byzantinischen Peloponnes abgesandt worden sein, mithin von dem „Despotes" Konstantin Palaiologos, einem Bruder des Kaisers (73).

Nun gibt es aber außer den Briefen, Memoranden und Urkunden staatlicher und kirchlicher Stellen sowie den Quellen aus Historiographie und Chro-

(71) K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 2 : *The Fifteenth Century*, Philadelphia 1978, S. 82-100, zur Vorgeschichte und dem hist. „Umfeld" des Feldzugs vgl. ebda. S. 67-81. Vgl. auch generell Cvetkova (wie Anm. 69), A. Hohlweg, *Der Kreuzzug des Jahres 1444*, in : *Die Türkei in Europa*, hrsg. v. K.-D. Grothusen, Göttingen, 1979, S. 20-37 und zuletzt N. Housley, *The Later Crusades* 1274-1580, Oxford, 1992, S. 81-89.

(72) Joannis Dlugosii ... *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. A. Przezdziecki. t. 4, Krakau, 1877, S. 704-707.

(73) A. Hohlweg, *Kaiser Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und der Kreuzzug des Jahres 1444*, in : *BZ*, 73 (1980), S. 14-24, vgl. auch Ders. (wie Anm. 72), S. 33-36, dazu (zustimmend) Djurić (wie Anm. 57), S. 384f., ablehnend, jedoch mit schwachen Argumenten Swoboda (wie Anm. 39), S. 44f. — Zu Konstantin Palaiologos, dem damaligen Despotes in Mistra und späteren Kaiser Konstantin XI., s. PLP Nr. 21500. Unter dem Aspekt, daß demnach wohl der Text bei Długosz zumindest im Kern auf ein Schreiben des Despotes Konstantin zurückgeht, wäre der Vergleich des Königs mit Titus und Justinian (Joannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae libri, wie Anm. 72, S. 705, s. auch Hohlweg, S. 18f.) insofern bemerkenswert, als er in den byzantinischen Quellen keine Parallele besäße, s. G. Prinzing, *Das Bild Justinians I. in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, in : *Fontes Minores*, ed. D. Simon, 7 (1986), S. 1-99, hier zu Vergleichen bestimmter Herrscher mit Justinian bes. S. 76-78.

nistik, auf die sich jeder Versuch, die Vorgänge auf hoher politisch-diplomatischer Ebene während der vom Kampf gegen die osmanische Bedrohung geprägten Schlußphase des Byzantinischen Reiches erhellen und rekonstruieren zu wollen, stützen muß, auch andersartige Quellen : solche, die erkennen lassen, auf welche Weise Angehörige breiterer Kreise der betroffenen Völker die Geschehnisse in und zu eigener (aber durch andere Quellen nicht unbeeinflußter) Überlieferung verarbeitet haben.

Für unser Thema besonders wichtig sind zwei Quellen aus diesem Bereich : Bei der einen handelt es sich um das zwar schon durch Emile Legrand 1875 bekanntgemachte, am besten aber von Gyula Moravcsik im Jahre 1935 edierte griechisch-volkssprachliche Poem über die Schlacht von Varna, das wegen einer Anspielung auf Hunyadis Tod und wegen der Datierung einer der beiden Hss auf 1461 nach 1456 und vor 1461 verfaßt worden ist, also bald nach dem Tode Hunyadis. Dazu paßt auch, daß es im Grunde einzig der Verherrlichung dieses Mannes dient, hingegen kaum der seines gefallenen Königs (der den Verfassern nur als ungarischer König gilt, so daß von Polen nie die Rede ist), zumal es erkennen läßt, daß dieser den Rat Hunyadis, nicht im Alleingang unbedacht den Sultan anzugreifen, in den Wind schlug. Die am Ende kurz durchschimmernde Kritik an Hunyadi mit dem Hinweis, er habe vielleicht heimlich den Tod des Königs begrüßt, fällt demgegenüber wenig ins Gewicht. Das Werk, das eine Menge Reden enthält, die zwischen den Protagonisten, d.h. zwischen dem „Mperna(r)dos"/*Μπερνά(ρ)δος* = Bernhard (?) genannten König (sein seltsamer Name hier ist unerklärt, sonst heißt er in den byzant. Quellen „Ladislaos"/*Λαδίσλαος* = Ladislaus), „Giangos"/*Γιάγγος* = Janos Hunyadi, dem Sultan „Amuratmpees"/*'Αμουράτμπεης* = Murad II. und seinem Schwager, dem Feldherrn „Karatzambes"/*Καρατζάμπεης*, ausgetauscht werden, harrt noch immer einer gründlichen literarhistorischen Untersuchung (74).

(74) Gy. Moravcsik (Hrsg.), *Görög költemény a Várnai csatáról*/*'Ελληνικὸν ποίημα περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς Βάρνης*, Budapest, 1935. Text der zwei Fassungen : S. 14-47. Vgl. auch zu dem Gedicht und seinen vermeintlichen Verfassern Zotikos Paraspondylos bzw. Georgios Argyropulos besonders Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I : *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, II : *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1958, hier I : S. 579f. (zur Quelle), II : S. 153, 176, 195, 205, und 347f. (Angaben zu den einzelnen oben angeführten Namen), H.-G. Beck, Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur, München 1971, S. 162 (Lit.), J. Held, Hunyadi : Legend and Reality, New York 1985, S. 109f. (nur zum Schlachtausgang im Spiegel des Gedichts), sowie V. Gjuzelev, *Bulgarien und die Bulgaren in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung (7.-15. Jh.)*, erstpubl. 1981, ND in : Ders., *Forschungen zur Geschichte Bulgariens im Mittelalter*, Wien, 1986, S. 63-93, hier S. 74f. ; vgl. auch ebenda S. 85f. über das 1460 verfaßte, deutsche Poem des Michel Beheim (1416-1474/78 : zu ihm s. M. Müller, s.v., in : *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*. Verfasserlexikon, 2. völlig neu bearb. Auflage, Bd. 1, Berlin u. New York, 1978, Sp. 672-680) zum Feldzug und zur Schlacht von Varna, dessen Andersartigkeit die oben gegebene Charakterisierung des griechischen Poems noch stärker her-

Bei der anderen Quelle denke ich an die sowohl in einer tschechischen wie auch in einer polnischen Redaktion auf uns gekommenen Erinnerungen des serbischen Janitscharen Konstantin Mihajlović aus Ostrovica, ein von der polnischen Slavistik schon früh gewürdigtes Werk, von dem es inzwischen mehrere Editionen und kommentierte Übersetzungen gibt (75). Das Werk spannt einen zeitlichen Bogen von der Mitte des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts und spiegelt nachweislich nicht nur mündliche Traditionen aus dem Umkreis seines (wohl serbisch-orthodoxen und dadurch auch von byzantinischen Vorstellungen mitgeprägten) Verfassers, sondern auch schriftliche wider. Das am Ende der polnischen Version zu lesende Datum der Abfassung 1400 dürfte allerdings, wie ich an anderer Stelle gezeigt habe, aus einer Verlesung kyrillischer Zahlbuchstaben für das Jahr 1481, das Todesjahr Sultan Mehmeds II. (1451-1481), zu erklären sein. So gab erst der Tod des Sultans vermutlich den Anlaß zur Niederschrift der ersten Fassung des Werkes ab, denn unter Mehmed II., der nach Konstantinopel u.a. auch die Peloponnes, Serbien (ohne Belgrad) und das Reich von Trapezunt seinem Reich einverleibte, hatte der Janitschar lange (wohl eher als Freiwilliger denn als Gefangener) gedient, bevor er 1463 in Bosnien in ungarische Gefangenschaft geriet (76).

vortreten läßt. O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna*, New York, 1943, geht nicht auf das Gedicht ein.

(75) Dj. Živanović (Hrsg.), *Константин Михайловић из Островице, Јничарове Успомене или Турска Хроника* (= *Spomenik* SAN 107, *Odeljenje društvenih nauka* NS 9), Belgrad, 1959 (Wiederabdruck der polnischen kritischen Edition von J. Łoś/ Krakau 1912/ mit serbischer Übersetzung und ausführlicher Einleitung). — *Константин Михайловић из Островице, Јничарове Успомене или Турска Хроника. Предговор, превод и напомене* : Dj. Živanović (= *Brazde*, pos. idz. ser. 5), Belgrad 1966. – *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, eingeleitet und übersetzt v. Renate Lachmann, kommentiert von C.-P. Haase, R. Lachmann, G. Prinzing (= *Slavische Geschichtsschreiber* 8), Graz, etc. 1975. – *Konstantin Mihajlović, Memoirs of a Janissary*, translated by B. Stolz, Historical commentary and notes by S. Soucek (= *Michigan Slavic Translations* 3), Ann Arbor, 1975 (enthält neben der Übersetzung vor allem die erstmals edierte tschechische Version M). — *Записки Јанычара, написаны Константином Михайловичем из Островицы. Перевод и комментарий* : A. I. Rogov, Moskau, 1978. — Vgl. zu den Ausgaben insgesamt zuletzt W. Swoboda, *Kilka uwag o twz. Zapiskach Janczara Konstantyna Michajłowicza z Ostrowicy*, in : *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 87 (1980), S. 493-499. – Zur Person des Janitscharen s. auch M. Stoy, s.v. *Konstantin Mihailović aus Ostrovica*, in : *BLGS*, 2 (1976), S. 476, sowie S. C. F(ranklin), in ODB, s.v. *Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrovica*, in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 1147.

(76) Vgl. dazu insgesamt (mit weiteren Nachweisen) : G. Prinzing, *Zur historischen Relevanz der „Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkischen Chronik" des Konstantin Mihajlović aus Ostrovica*, in : *Byzance et les Slaves* (wie Anm. 35), S. 372-384, hier speziell auch zur Frage der Datumsverlesung 1481 → 1400 S. 376-378. Das Kapitel (26) über die Eroberung Konstantinopels hat (in der italienischen Übersetzung von A. Danti) abgedruckt und kommentiert : A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, Verona, 1976, S. 254-260 und 434-438. — Zu

Natürlich handelt auch ein Hauptkapitel (= Kap. 23) des „historischen" Teils dieser „Memoiren" von der Schlacht von Varna und davon, wie der polnische König umkam : Angeblich angestiftet vom ruhm- und herrschsüchtigen Janko Hunyadi (eine Parallele zum Varna-Gedicht), habe er den Reiter-Angriff gegen die Türken befohlen, ohne mit den in Gräben versteckten Janitscharen zu rechnen, die sich dort über die Reiter hermachten : Janko Hunyadi habe sich retten können, doch der verlassene König sei bald darauf von einem Janitscharen entdeckt, unerkannt getötet und enthauptet worden : Erst nachdem er seinem Sultan den Kopf mit den Worten präsentiert habe : „Glücklicher Herr, das ist das Haupt irgendeines berühmten Feindes von dir", hätten die vom Sultan befohlenen Nachforschungen ergeben, daß es der König gewesen sei, den der Janitschar getötet habe ; entsprechend hoch sei er belohnt worden ([77]). Diese eigenartigen, für einen breiteren Leserkreis konzipierten „Memoiren", die man in der Zeit der folgenden Türkenkriege viel gelesen und sogar noch mit neuen Textpartien ergänzt hat, sind mehr als alle anderen Quellen (mit Ausnahme vielleicht der Annalen von Długosz) geeignet, den Blick polnischer (aber auch anderer) Historiker, Slavisten und Byzantinisten auf die Welt Südosteuropas und Kleinasiens zur Zeit der osmanischen Expansion zu lenken, und damit auch auf das untergehende Byzanz.

Zum Abschluß soll, wiederum anders als bei Halecki, nicht vom dem viel behandelten Echo, das die eben schon erwähnte osmanische Eroberung Konstantinopels im Jahre 1453 auch bei den Polen selbst, nämlich bei Długosz, hervorgerufen hat ([78]), die Rede sein. Vielmehr soll ein Byzantiner der damaligen Epochenwende zu Wort kommen, der Geschichtsschreiber Laonikos Chalkokondyles (* ca. 1423, Schüler des Gemistos Plethon in Mistra, † um 1490), der im Rahmen seines die Jahre 1298-1463 umfassenden Geschichtswerkes auch interessante Exkurse über fremde Völker, darunter vor allem einen über die Skythen, d.h. die Tataren, und innerhalb dessen wiederum einen umfangreichen über die Sarmaten, worunter der Autor die Russen versteht, verfaßt hat. Da sich aber dieser Exkurs nicht auf die Russen beschränkt, sondern auch ihre Nachbarvölker, darunter die Polen, mit einbezieht, erfahren wir dort : „Die Polen aber grenzen an die Sarmaten (= Russen) und haben deren Sprache, in ihren Sitten und Bräuchen aber sowie in ihrer Lebensweise

Mehmed II. vgl. S. FAROQHI, s.v., in : *LexMA*, 6, Fasz. 3 (1992) Sp. 469f. und S. W. R(EINERT), s.v., in : *ODB*, 2 (1991), S. 1330f.

(77) *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, ed. LACHMANN (wie Anm. 75), S. 96-101, das Zitat : S. 100, vgl. auch *Konstantin Mihailović*, ed. STOLZ/SOUCEK (wie Anm. 75), S. 74-81, bes. 787/79.

(78) Vgl. HALECKI (wie Anm. 8), S. 65, A. PERTUSI, *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*. Edizione postuma a cura di A. CARILE, Bologna, 1983, S. 227-237 und die ausführliche Analyse von SWOBODA (wie Anm. 39), S. 48-54.

ähneln sie den Römern" — womit die katholischen Völker des Abendlandes gemeint sind ([79]). Die lapidare Aussage, an die sich gleich im folgenden Abschnitt über die Litauer direkt die Angabe anschließt, an die Polen grenzten die Litauer (auf deren Grenzkämpfe mit den Polen im folgenden auch noch kurz hingewiesen wird), geht, wie Hans Ditten gezeigt hat, wahrscheinlich auf einen aus dem katholisch-lateinisch orientierten Europa, vielleicht sogar einen aus Polen selbst stammenden Informanten des Chalkokondyles aus der Zeit zwischen 1440 und 1447 zurück ([80]). Mit anderen Worten : Chalkokondyles wußte selber bei Abfassung dieser Partien nichts Genaueres über die Polen und machte sich daher entsprechende Informationen eines mit Polen mehr oder weniger vertrauten Fremden zu eigen : seine Aussage, immerhin die einzige explizite Aussage eines Byzantiners über „die Polen", wäre insofern nur bedingt als „byzantinisch" zu betrachten. Gleichwohl verdeutlicht dieser Befund zwei vielleicht doch typische Züge des byzantinischen „Polenbildes" : Der eine wäre, daß der Blick eines Byzantiners auf Polen seinen Weg wohl am ehesten — ob direkt, oder durch fremde Vermittlung — über Rußland nahm ; der andere bestünde darin, daß das Kerngebiet Polens für die Mehrzahl der Byzantiner in der Tat stets außerhalb des orthodoxen „Byzantine Commonwealth", d.h. am Rande ihres Horizontes, lag.

Demgegenüber wäre jedoch am Ende meines in manchem sicher noch ergänzungsbedürftigen Beitrags ([81]) festzuhalten, daß sich trotz dieser Randlage Polens im Lauf der behandelten fünf Jahrhunderte ein anfänglich eher locker, später aber — begünstigt vor allem durch die lange polnische Präsenz im galizisch-"ruthenischen" Raum — zunehmend enger geknüpftes Beziehungs- und Interessengeflecht zwischen Byzanz und Polen auf verschiedenen Ebenen

(79) LAONICI CHALCOCANDYLAE, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. DARKÓ, t. 1, Budapest 1922, S. 124, Z. 23-125, Z. 2 : *„Πολάνοι δὲ ἔχονται Σαρματῶν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τούτων νομίζουσι, καὶ ἤθεσι δὲ καὶ διαίτῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων παραπλησίᾳ"*. Vgl. dazu DITTEN (wie Anm. 57), S. 59 mit dem Kommentar S. 205-207, wo im Hinblick auf die Herkunft der Bezeichnung „Polen" jetzt auf KUNSTMANN (wie Anm. 13) hinzuweisen ist (die notwendige kritische Auseinandersetzung seitens der Byzantinistik und anderer Disziplinen mit den darin vertretenen Auffassungen steht noch aus ; vgl. aber jetzt R. KATIČIĆ, *Kunstmannovi lingvistički dokazi o seobi Slavena s juga na sjever*, in : *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 20 [1990] 225-238. Den Hinweis hierauf verdanke ich meinem Kollegen L. Steindorff, Münster/Westf.).

(80) Vgl. DITTEN (wie Anm. 57), S. 59-61 und 65-72. Die entsprechenden Textstellen sind bei ihm stets griechisch und deutsch mit angeführt.

(81) Etwa auch im Hinblick auf die Frage, inwieweit und wodurch Polen als Nachbar des Fürstentum Moldau in der Zeit der Turkokratie mit dem Fragenkomplex *Byzance après Byzance* verknüpft ist, s. dazu neben dem „Klassiker" N. IORGA, *Byzance après Byzance, Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine*, Erstpubl. 1935, ND Bukarest, 1971 auch V. CIOBANU, *Ţările române şi Polonia. Secolele XIV-XVI*, Bukarest, 1985.

gebildet hat ; seiner weiteren Erforschung im Rahmen der gesamteuropäischen Geschichte (unter Einschluß der Literaturgeschichte) sollten auch künftig unsere Anstrengungen gelten.

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DÉCOUVERTE D'UN MANUSCRIT ILLUSTRÉ AVEC «LES ORACLES DE LÉON LE SAGE», SIGNÉ : GEORGIOS KLONTZAS

Rapport préliminaire (1)

Au cours de nos recherches sur les Oracles de Léon le Sage (PG 107, 1129-1140), auxquels nous avons consacré une thèse de doctorat (encore inédite) (2), nous avons rassemblé 53 manuscrits grecs avec ce texte (complet ou fragmentaire), dont la plupart contiennent également les images énigmatiques qui accompagnent les *Oracles*. Parmi ces témoins se trouve un manuscrit sur parchemin, inconnu jusqu'ici, qui présente une grande importance codicologique et artistique. Actuellement ce manuscrit se trouve dans une collection privée, dont le possesseur tient à rester anonyme. Il provient de la bibliothèque d'un noble écossais, Lord Bute (1713-1792), premier ministre du roi d'Angleterre, George III. Le *Codex Bute* se révèle comme un véritable «doublet» du *Baroccianus gr. 170*, qui est sans doute le manuscrit le plus célèbre contenant les Oracles. Si le *Baroccianus* est plus luxueux que le *Codex Bute*, le dernier réserve quelques particularités, qui en font aussi un manuscrit d'une valeur unique.

D'après la dédicace, le *Baroccianus gr. 170*, encore récemment étudié par Antonio Rigo (3), fut exécuté en 1577 dans l'île de Crète. Il prétend offrir une «édition critique» des *Oracles*, mais en fait il s'agit d'une rédaction fort interpolée (le texte passe de 148 à 467 vers !) accompagnée d'une traduction latine. Dans cette «édition» les *figures* oraculaires (25 splendides miniatures en pleine page) ont perdu pour la plupart leur caractère emblématique et

(1) Résumé d'une contribution au XVIIIe Congres International des Études byzantines, Moscou 8-15 août 1991. Cf. *XVIII Meždunarodnyj Kongress Vizantinistov. Rezjume soobščenij*, II. Moskva, 1991, p. 1220-1221.

(2) J. VEREECKEN, *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος χρησμοί. De Orakels van de zeer wijze keizer Leo. Editio princeps van de Griekse tekst en van de Latijnse bewerking, de Vaticinia Pontificum. Met historische inleiding, tekstgeschiedenis en commentaar.* I-III, Gent, 1986.

(3) *Oracula Leonis. Tre manoscritti greco-veneziani degli oracoli attribuiti all'imperatore bizantino Leone il Saggio (Bodl. Baroc. 170, Marc. gr. VII.22, Marc. gr. VII.3).* Padova, 1988.

sont devenues des tableaux historiques. L'éditeur est Francesco Barozzi, un humaniste italien ayant surtout vécu en Crète. Le manuscrit est dédicacé à Jacopo Foscarini, gouverneur de l'île de 1574 à 1577. C'est Foscarini lui-même qui aurait commandé cette édition bilingue ainsi qu'une interprétation des *Oracles*. Pour une raison inconnue cette interprétation, annoncée dans la dédicace, manque dans le manuscrit, dont les ff. 32-91 sont restées vides. Aparemment le manuscrit n'a jamais atteint son destinataire, puisqu'il s'est retrouvé dans la bibliothèque de Barozzi lui-même. Dans une publication peu connue A. D. Paliouras (4) a démontré que le Baroccianus fut écrit et enluminé par Georges Klontzas, un célèbre peintre d'icônes, miniaturiste et copiste crétois. C'est lui qui exécuta notamment le *Marcianus gr. VII, 22*, une vaste compilation d'oracles, et l'orna de 410 miniatures.

Le *Codex Bute* se présente, sur le plan textuel, comme un double quasi parfait du *Baroccianus*. Écrit par la même main, il contient exactement la même version interpolée des *Oracles* (467 vv.) avec traduction latine et précédée de la même dédicace de Barozzi à Foscarini, mais cette fois-ci sans indication de la date ni du lieu. L'interprétation des *Oracles*, annoncée dans la dédicace, manque également dans ce manuscrit, dont les feuillets 30 à 40 sont vides. Toutefois, c'est surtout dans les miniatures, manifestement exécutées par le même artiste que celles du *Baroccianus*, que l'importance du *Codex Bute* se révèle. D'abord ce codex contient deux miniatures de plus, des miniatures qui se rapportent au destinataire, Jacopo Foscarini. Au feuillet 3 verso se trouve un portrait en pied du noble vénitien, inscrit dans un grand médaillon, dont — chose étrange — la moitié gauche est restée vide. Un détail ornemental du médaillon, qui représente un ange tenant la *corne dogale*, est important pour la datation du manuscrit. Il s'agirait d'une allusion à la candidature de Foscarini pour le dogat, candidature qu'il posa pour la première fois en 1578. Le *Codex Bute* pourrait donc être postérieur à cette date, c'est-à-dire postérieur au *Baroccianus* ; l'étude des enluminures aiderait à établir une chronologie relative. Au feuillet 4 recto sont représentées les armoiries de Foscarini, qu'on retrouve également sur la belle reliure vénitienne du manuscrit. Cela prouve que le *Codex Bute*, contrairement au *Baroccianus*, s'est retrouvé dans la possession de son destinataire. Les autres miniatures en pleine page qui accompagnent le texte et qui sont au nombre de 25, trahissent par leur iconographie, leur style et leur coloris, le peintre virtuose du *Baroccianus*. Malgré le fait que les miniatures du *Codex Bute* sont moins élaborées et moins bien conservées, elles présentent un intérêt particulier, puisque trois d'entre elles portent la signature de l'artiste. Sur les feuillets 7 verso, 10 verso

(4) *Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ χρησμολογικοῦ κώδικα* 170 Barozzi, dans : *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ἡράκλειο, 29 Αὐγ. — 3 Σεπτ. 1976). Ἀθήνα*, 1981, II, p. 318-328, pl. 96-114.

et 18 verso on peut lire, parfois soigneusement dissimulé dans l'image : *Χεὶρ Γεωργίου Κλόντζα.* Cette indication précieuse sur le peintre du *Codex Bute* confirme en même temps l'identité de l'artiste du *Baroccianus.*

Quant à *l'écriture* de ces deux manuscrits, il s'agit sans aucun doute du même *ductus* que celui du *Marcianus gr. VII, 22*, qui est signé par Klontzas. Il est vrai que le *Marcianus* est écrit de façon moins calligraphiée et plus hâtive, mais il faut tenir compte du volume exceptionnel de ce codex et du fait qu'il a été exécuté 13 à 15 ans plus tard que les deux autres manuscrits.

Informé de la grande valeur artistique et codicologique, le possesseur du *Codex Bute* a pris l'initiative de faire connaître son manuscrit au monde scientifique en nous proposant d'y consacrer une étude séparée. À part une édition facsimile et une description codicologique du manuscrit, cette étude devra comprendre : une étude intégrale du texte grec et de la traduction latine, une introduction sur les *Oracles de Léon*, un chapitre consacré à Klontzas, compilateur et enlumineur de recueils d'oracles.

En outre, notre collègue, Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, étudiera les miniatures du *Codex Bute* du point de vue artistique et les situera dans l'œuvre peint de Georges Klontzas (miniatures et icônes) ainsi que dans le contexte des enluminures tardo et post-byzantines.

Université de Gand. Jeannine VEREECKEN.

COMPTES RENDUS

Ludwig BURGMANN and Hubert KAUFHOLD, *Bibliographie zur Rezeption des byzantinischen Rechts im alten Rußland sowie zur Geschichte des armenischen und georgischen Rechts.* (= *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Band 18). Frankfurt am Main, Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 1992, IX + 276 pp. ISBN 3-923615-13-2.

Part 1 : Early Russia

The first part devoted to the reception of Byzantine law in early Russia has been compiled by Ludwig Burgmann with the assistance of Igor Čičurov, Kirill Maksimovič and Jaroslav Ščapov. In the introduction (pp. 1-3) they describe the aim of the bibliography as being exhaustive with regard to works devoted to specific legal texts but only selective with regard to more general works, a selection which they admit is *certainly somewhat arbitrary* (p. 1). An examination of the general works listed in section B, *Allgemeines* (pp. 7-20) fully bears this out since there is no mention of most of the main works on the history of Russian ecclesiastical law such as those by Ioann (= V. Sokolov) (1851), K. Mysovskij (1862-63), N. Sokolov (1874-75), M. Albov (1882), M. Bogoslovskij (1885), I. Berdnikov (1888[1] ; 1913[2]), N. Suvorov (1889-90[1] ; 1913[5]), N. Zaozerskij (1891), M. Ostroumov (1893) or M. Krasnožen (1900[1] ; 1917[4]). A three-page encyclopaedia article by M. Gorčakov is listed (no. 132), but not his two major works, viz. *Zapiski cerkovnogo prava* (1894) and *Cerkovnoe pravo* (1909). Nevertheless, by and large the selection of the works listed in this section can be considered to include all the indispensable titles.

The introduction also states that although it attempts to be exhaustive with regard to specific legal texts, linguistic studies are only *incidentally* noted (pp. 1-2). The inclusion of philological studies of legal terminology is clearly important, but the presence of articles dealing with problems of Old Russian orthography (nos. 200-201), accent (no. 202), nominal composition (no. 198), verbal aspect (no. 344), etc. is somewhat surprising. The introduction further specifies that the Russian reception of Matthew Blastares' *Syntagma* has not been taken into consideration (p. 1). While it is true that the 14th-century

Serb translation only went to Muscovy in the 16th century, it subsequently had a considerable influence on the further development of Russian law, especially via the printed nomocanon of the Russian church, and hence this exclusion seems unwarranted.

Before dealing with the sections into which this part of the bibliography has been divided, three major shortcomings must be mentioned. Since there are no cross-references in the sections dealing with individual legal works to the general studies listed in section B, there is no way in which a person consulting this bibliography for information about a specific legal text can know which of the general studies pay particular attention to the work in question ; e.g. that the *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* is dealt with *in extenso* in nos. 25 (pp. 3-90, 130-159), 26 (pp. 192-249) and 27 (pp. 155-274). The second shortcoming is that since there are very few annotations, in the sections dealing with more than one legal work there is no way in which the user can know to which work a study is devoted unless the title specifically indicates this, e.g. how can he know that no. 335, whose Russian title translates as *A Manuscript Which Belonged to Patriarch Theodosius of Târnovo*, deals with Nicon of the Black Mount's *Pandectes* ? This illogicality is all the more striking in that the few annotations which are given clearly indicate that the compilers fully recognized the problem, e.g. no. 349, whose Bulgarian title reads in translation *An Unknown Manuscript with the Signature of the Bulgarian Patriarch Theodosius of Târnovo*, is accompanied by the note : *Über eine Handschrift der Pandekten Nikons vom Schwarzen Berge*.

The third major shortcoming is that although the compilers in their preface (pp. V-VI) warn the reader that there will be inaccuracies in some titles since they have been unable to verify them all *de visu*, they have not indicated, e.g. by means of an asterisk, precisely which works they have not seen, thus alerting the user to the possibility of an inaccuracy. To give but one example : they clearly have not seen S. Bašilov's work (no. 297) since the title given bears but a superficial resemblance to the actual title. Whether this is the reason for certain other peculiarities in some of the titles is uncertain. Thus in some cases titles are silently abridged (e.g. no. 290), in others the series in which the work appeared is not indicated (e.g. nos 209, 293) ; offprints of articles are listed as though they were books (e.g. nos. 127, 211) and article paginations are omitted (e.g. nos. 24 [= pp. 1-42], 119 [= pp. 15-24]. It would also have been useful if the full names had been given of authors whose articles appeared under initials (e.g. no. 30, where N.G. means N. Glubokovskij), or monastic names (e.g. no. 119, where Amfilochij means P. Sergievskij).

The bibliography is not free from the occasional slip, e.g. Vašica's article of 1955 (no. 215) was not reprinted in his book of 1966, which only contains a summary of it, or from the odd misprint, e.g. *sveučiličta* in no. 231, *Blavoev* in no. 281 and *istroičeskaja* in no. 325, although these are perhaps inevitable

in such a work. The user should, however, be warned that the pages of editions which are indicated in most cases include prefaces and appended notes and not merely the texts themselves.

The largest section, E. *Kormčaja Kniga* (pp. 26-42), should without any doubt have been subdivided into at least three sections dealing with the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum* (nos. 138, 163, 165), the Serbian nomocanon (a combination of the *Synopsis canonum* with commentaries taken from Aristenus and Zonaras) (nos. 110, 121-122, 124, 127, 134, 137, 143, 145-146, 148-151, 161, 170, 172, 183, 186, 191) and the Russian nomocanon (a combination of the full texts of the canons as found in the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum* with the commentaries found in the Serbian nomocanon) (nos. 159, 166, 178). The reason for the predominance of the Serbian nomocanon is that it became the basis for the printed nomocanon. Since there is no subject index, although there is a useful index of authors (pp. 80-87), it would have facilitated ease of consultation had the compilers even further subdivided this section, e.g. someone interested in the distorted version of the nomocanon drawn up in the 16th century by Prince Basil Patrikeev to "prove" his conviction that the possession of landed property by monasteries was contrary to Scripture will have to work through the entire section to cull nos. 118, 153, 156 and 175, while the absence of any cross-references will leave him ignorant of the attention devoted to it in nos. 17, 31, 58, 152 and 161.

Two of the items listed in section E, viz. nos. 157-158, should have been included in section G, *Syntagma L titulorum ("Nomokanon des Methodios")* (pp. 46-48), which should in turn have been combined with section D, *Mähren*, (pp. 24-25) since if one of the surviving Slavonic translations of Byzantine legal works can be ascribed to St. Methodius, then it must be the *Synagoge L titulorum*. Three articles are missing in this section, viz. an anonymous one in *Christianskoe čtenie* in 1851, K. Ilievska's one in *Kirilo-metodievskiot (staroslovenskiot) period i kirilo-metodievskata tradicija vo Makedonija* in 1988 and M. Weingart's review of no. 210 in *Časopis pro moderní filologii a literaturu* in 1924. A cross-reference to no. 250 would also have been useful.

Another legal work often dated to the time of SS. Cyril and Methodius is the *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, to which section H (pp. 49-60) is devoted. The division of the editions (pp. 49-51) into three subsections with the shorter, longer and conflated redactions respectively might have been contemplated and the fact that it is also found in no. 40 (pp. 143-164) in the general section is not indicated. Here too three articles are missing, viz. those by L. Milov in *Novoe o prošlom našej strany* in 1967 and *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie* in 1978 and that by F. Milkova in volume VI of the *acta* of the Second International Congress of Bulgarian Studies of 1986. Incidentally, this volume also contains an article by R. Čolov on the reception of Byzantine law in mediaeval Bulgaria which could well have been included in section C, *Bulgarien* (pp. 21-23).

Section H is closely linked with section I, *Ecloga* (pp. 60-62), since 29 of the 32 articles of the *Zakon* are taken from the *Ecloga*. Strangely enough, no editions of the Slavonic translation of the *Ecloga* are listed, despite the fact that it is found in nos. 76 (pp. 118-142) and 192 (pp. 334-393). Similarly, no editions are listed in section J, *Prochiron (Zakon gradskij)* (pp. 62-63), although one is found in no. 98 (pp. 34-134). Also omitted in this section on the *Procheiron* is A. Solovjev's article in *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* in 1928, while in section K, *"Knigi zakonnye"* (pp. 63-65), there is no reference to A. Pavlov's article in *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* in 1886.

It is unclear why section L, *Exzerpte zum Scheidungsrecht* (pp. 65-67) dealing with the passage on divorce in the charter ascribed to Prince Yaroslav of Kiev (1019-1054), has been included and, if it is necessary, why only a few of the more than fifty editions have been listed, not to mention only a smattering of the articles devoted to it. Section M, *Kleinere Kirchenrechtsquellen* (pp. 67-74), like section E, should have been subdivided, with at least five sections, viz. Nicon of the Black Mount's *Pandectes* (nos. 317-319, 321, 323, 326-328, 335, 343-344, 346-347, 349-350), John II of Kiev's *Responsa canonica* (nos. 322 and 348 ; there is no mention of the fact that they have been edited in nos. 17, vol. ii, pp. 352-359 ; 325, pp. 323-346, and 336, pp. 115-170), Nicetas of Heracleia's *Responsa ad Constantinum episcopum* (no. 330), John Nesteutes' poenitential works (nos. 332, 334, 337) and the *Poenitentiale in hagiasmatario* (nos. 331, 333). The bibliographies of John Nesteutes and the *Poenitentiale* omit several studies : in the case of John Nesteutes, the article by E. Herman in *Orientalia christiana periodica* in 1953 is not mentioned, nor are any of the editions of the complete text of the *Collectio iii canonum poenitentialium*, e.g. those by M. Gorčakov in 1874 and S. Troicki in 1956, although an abridged version of the collection is to be found in no. 319, pp. 133-146. With regard to the *Poenitentiale*, Filaret (Zachorovič)'s study published at Moscow in 1876 is omitted, as is the extensive (72 pp.) review of no. 331 in the *Učenye zapiski Imperatorskogo Kazanskogo universiteta* in 1899 by I. Berdnikov and the 1989 reprint of the 1629 Kievan edition with a postface by O. Horbatsch. Why one study of the *acta* of the synod held at Moscow in 1551 (no. 340) is included in this section is unclear and, if it is relevant, why not list at least some of the eight editions of the *acta* and a selection of the modern studies of the synod, e.g. J. Kollmann's of 1978 ? Equally obscure are the reasons for including one minor study of the influence of Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* (no. 345) but none of the editions or studies of the two Slavonic translations of the work.

In section N, *Donatio Constantini* (pp. 74-75) A. Pliguzov's edition in *Russky feodal'ny arkhiv* in 1988 has not been listed, while section O, *"Traktat über die Vorrechte des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel"* (pp. 75-76) — the

title is somewhat of a misnomer since the celebrated *scholium slavicum* on the 28th canon of Chalcedon asserts Roman claims to primacy over Constantinople — should have included a cross-reference to the edition in no. 102, pp. 269-271. The final two sections deal with two of the appendices to the Slavonic translation of the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum*, viz. Nicephorus I of Constantinople's *Chronographia brevis* in section P, *"Letopisec vskore"* (pp. 77-78), and the anonymous *De calendis, nonis et idibus* in section Q, *Kalendertraktate* (p. 79). If two of these appendices are to be dealt with, why not all the others, e.g. Michael Syncellus' *Libellus de fide orthodoxa ?* Again, lack of cross-references obscures the fact that the *Chronographia* is found in nos. 104, pp. 210-236, and 382, pp. 252-263, and the *De calendis* in no. 104, pp. 17-26. Incidentally, the ascription of this latter work to Rhetorius of Egypt by V. Beneševič has little to recommend it.

The need for a bibliography such as this is well illustrated by the first section A, *Bibliographien* (p. 7), which contains only two entries, although it must be said that the sections on law in other specialized bibliographies, e.g. in those of *Cyrillomethodiana* by G. Il'inskij (1934), M. Popruženko (1942) and I. Dujčev (1983), could well have been added to the list. Despite the above-mentioned methodological shortcomings, this bibliography undoubtedly meets the need and will be a most useful tool in the libraries of all scholars working in the fields of Byzantine law, early Russian law, the reception of Byzantine culture by the Slavs and historians of law in general.

Part 2 : Armenia

The Armenian section of this bibliography (pp. 91-187) was prepared by Hubert Kaufhold with the assistance of Azat Bozoyan in Armenia. The concept of "law" is broadly interpreted. In the "general" section numerous works dealing with political, economic, and social history are listed, while the section on canon law includes works on ecclesiastical history. On the other hand, the very short list of bibliographies omits to mention any Armenian encyclopaedias which contain articles relevant to the subject. But this is in general a very thorough contribution, erring on the side of inclusiveness rather than selectivity. Works published up to 1990 have been included, but not consistently — perhaps because not all journals dated 1989 had actually appeared in that year.

All the main periodicals have been checked, but a few items in less obvious publications have not been included, even those in *Kavkaz i Vizantija*. It would also have been worthwhile to note the republication of studies in different languages. Thus H. Bartikian's study of a curious passage in Mxit'ar Goš appeared not only in Greek (no. 237a) but also in Armenian two years earlier.

In the section on ecclesiastical law, texts such as the *Questionnaire* attributed to St. Gregory the Illuminator have been included, though its connection to legal concepts is extremely tenuous, whereas the article of S. P. Cowe, *The Armeno-Georgian Acts of Ephesus*, published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1989, does not appear. There are also grey areas. Does the concept of "canon law", well covered here, include the question of the "canon" of scripture, studies of which are ignored ?

It is perhaps unfortunate that a bibliography can do little more than list published titles as accurately as possible, for the sections on individual authors would have been even more valuable if some indications had been given regarding the relative merits of editions. Even more important would have been some note to the effect that the Code of Mxit'ar Gos is extensively quoted and commented upon in Karst's study of the later Code of Smbat. However, the references to reviews of the major works will help guide those less familiar with Armenian studies.

Another anomaly is the differentiation of *Albanien* as a separate section, in which Moses Dasxuranc'i (also known as Kaghankatuatsi) is the sole author named. David of Gandzak also came from the same region, yet is subsumed under *Armenien*. Since Armenian was the only written language used by the Caucasian "Albanians (the Aghuank')", it is misleading to separate only one author without clear reasons.

Part 3 : Georgia

The Georgian section of the bibliography (pp. 191-276) was prepared by Hubert Kaufhold with the assistance of Sulchan Goginava in Tbilisi. This too is a thorough survey of the subject, with characteristics similar to those of the Armenian section. Titles are given in the local scripts, with Russian versions if such were used in the original publication, or at least some rendering in Russian or German. Important reviews or resumés are noted, and if a work deals with both Armenian and Georgian is it usually listed twice. It is thus curious that the *Typikon* of Gregory Pakurianos should be listed only in the Georgian section. There has been much confusion with regard to prominent Byzantine officials from the Caucasus who adhered to the imperial, Chalcedonian, church and branches of whose families were found on both sides of the Armeno-Georgian frontier. One hopes that in a document such as a bibliography no subtle point of view is being advanced.

In sum, this bibliography is a very valuable contribution to Armenian and Georgian studies, and the editors are to be congratulated on such an authoritative and accurate listing of works in many different languages.

Francis J. THOMSON (Early Russia).

Robert W. THOMSON (Armenia and Georgia).

I. Ševčenko as Byzantinist and Slavist

Ihor ŠEVČENKO, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*. (= *Renovatio*, vol. 1). Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1991, XII + 740 pp. ISBN 0-916458-12-1.

This book inaugurates a new series, *Renovatio*, sponsored jointly by the Istituto Universitario Orientale at Naples and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the aim of which, as defined in the *Editorial Statement* (p. V) is to reprint sources, monographs and collections of articles on Slav, Byzantine and Eurasian topics which are either not easily available or are widely scattered. Each volume is to be accompanied by a retrospective essay on subsequent developments in the field.

The volume contains thirty-five studies published by Ihor Ševčenko over a period of thirty-three years (1) mainly devoted to Byzantino-Slav literary and cultural relations. Although the stated aim of the new series is to update the works republished, in his preface Ševčenko states that since *this might have delayed the publication of the volume indefinitely* he has limited his *Addenda* to *some random remarks* (p. XI). The perusal of the *Addenda* (pp. 725-740) certainly confirms that this is no expression of false modesty : there are some remarks on only fourteen of the items and the aim of this review is to remedy this failure to at least a modest extent.

Before examining the studies individually it is necessary to make a few comments on the general lack of proper editing. The articles have not been reproduced in facsimile but reset, which, we are told in the preface, *has provided the opportunity for eliminating some typographical (and a few factual) errors* (p. XI). Some misprints may well have been eliminated but a disgraceful number of new ones have been introduced (2). The resetting has required the insertion of the original paginations into the text in pointed brackets for reference purposes, but in at least one case the result is baffling : *Byzantine Elements in Early Ukrainian Literature* (pp. 163-172) originally appeared in *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. i, pp. 933-940 (3), but

(1) Since the first was published in 1952 and the last in 1984 they do not *span a period of thirty-two years*, as Ševčenko states in the second sentence of his preface (p. IX).

(2) To give but a few examples : *explicity* (p. 19), *constitutionelle* (p. 21), *Vasieliev* (p. 118), *frendship* (p. 271), *tha* (p. 416), *Berishte* (p. 436), *identifield* (p. 597), *manuscritps* (p. 614). The omission of the marker of the plural "s" is fairly common, e.g. *fragment* (pp. 53, 565), *translation* (p. 60), *saying* (p. 295), while occasionally the misprints produce new words, e.g. *of* (p. 19) = on, *one* (p. 351) = on. Neither the Greek nor the Slavonic is exempt, e.g. *μεθυσον* (p. 295) *φεύγω£* (p. 428), *b lěto* (p. 38), *ldjt"* (p. 297, twice) = lět".

(3) Ed. V. Kubijovyč, Toronto, 1963.

the numbers in pointed brackets go from 18 to 26 and do not correspond to the page breaks in the original edition. In two cases the removal of articles from their original contexts has rendered them partly obscure and no effort has been made to remedy this. To what and whom *main papers* (pp. 268, 273) and *one scholar (ibid. p. 82)* (p. 268) in *Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century* (pp. 267-284) refer is nowhere indicated. In fact the article was a critical review of two papers delivered at the XIIIth Congress of Byzantine Studies at Oxford in 1966, together with which it was later published and the reader will have to refer to the original publication to understand the references (4). The same applies to *Muscovy's Conquest of Kazan : Two Views Reconciled* (pp. 299-307) where we are told that the papers of *Professors Keenan and Pritsak and that of Professor Pelenski complement each other* (p. 300) but what they were we are not informed and the reader will have to refer to the periodical in which they and Ševčenko's critical introduction to them first appeared in order to find out (5).

Two collections of Ševčenko's studies have already been published and the reader is warned in the preface that the six studies on Byzantino-Slav themes reprinted there have not been included in this volume (p. X). This is to be regretted since it means that his work in this field is still spread over three separate collections ; moreover, the omission for this reason of *Agapetus East and West : The Fate of a Byzantine "Mirror of Princes"* means that even the "Ševčenko file" on Agapetus represented by three studies in the collection under review is incomplete. However, it is not only the exclusion of some of his best studies in this field which disappoints the reader, it is the inclusion of others which are either irrelevant or popular as opposed to scholarly. His examination of the poem *Szachy* by the father of Polish poetry Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) (pp. 309-331) will interest historians of Polish literature but not Byzantinists, unless they happen to be interested in the history of

(4) *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford, 5-10 September 1966*, ed. J. Hussey, D. Obolensky and S. Runciman. Oxford 1967. The two papers concerned are *Ekonomicheskiye i politicheskiye otnosheniya Drevney Rusi i Vizantii* by G. Litavrin and A. Kazhdan on pp. 69-81, and *Russko-vizantiyskiye kul'turnyye svyazi* by Z. Udaltsova on pp. 81-91. It has to be said that Ševčenko was extremely restrained in his criticism of the latter article which is largely a farrago of unsubstantiated hypotheses, e.g. early Russian ecclesiastical music was more democratic than Byzantine as it was inspired by Slav pagan melodies (p. 86), wild statements, e.g. Abraham of Smolensk, a saint venerated by the Russian Church, was a heretic (p. 91), and chauvinist rhetoric, e.g. early Russia rivalled Byzantium *not only in the sphere of politics but also in that of culture* (p. 82).

(5) Slavic Review, xxvi, 1967. See E. Keenan, *Muscovy and Kazan : Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy* on pp. 548-558 ; J. Pelenski, *Muscovite Imperial Claims to the Kazan Khanate* on pp. 559-576, and O. Pritsak, *Moscow, the Golden Horde and the Kazan Khanate from a Polycultural Point of View* on pp. 577-583.

chess and understand Polish, since this is one of the two items in the collection not in English, the other being his description in Ukrainian of a Slavonic *tetrevangelium* of 1608 now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York (pp. 37-41). Some of the book reviews do not merit inclusion, either because the work reviewed is not *sensu stricto* scholarly (6), or because it has long since lost its original value (7), or because the review is so brief as to be virtually unenlightening (8). What is the point of reprinting a brief entry on Prince Yaroslav I of Kiev (c. 982-1054) which first appeared in a popular encyclopaedia (pp. 185-186) ? I. Dujčev well deserved the laudatory remarks made by Ševčenko in his preface to a collection of the former's articles (pp. 333-337), but it hardly contains anything Ševčenko has not said in more detail elsewhere. His account of his discovery of new documents shedding fresh light on the somewhat disreputable events which took place between 1859 when Constantine Tischendorf acquired the fourth-century *Codex Sinaiticus* and 1869 when it was purchased by Russia is indeed a fascinating one (pp. 187-227), but does it belong here ?

The order of the entries, apart from the first one, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, a general survey of Byzantine influence on Orthodox Slav culture which first appeared in 1984 and here serves as an introduction to the collection (pp. 3-15), is strictly chronological, which is a pity since thematic grouping, which is adopted in this review, would have given greater coherence to the collection.

In addition to *Byzantium and the Slavs*, there are two more general surveys, viz. *Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century* (pp. 267-284) and *Byzantine Elements in Early Ukrainian Culture* (pp. 163-172). The last named article contains one of the two instances in this collection of Ševčenko's having misunderstood a Slavonic text : he claims (p. 173) that the beginning of the Cherubic hymn in Slavonic, *Iže heruvimy* is a mistranslation meaning *Which Cherubim*. The translation may be obscurely literal but it is not incorrect as *iže* does not refer to the Cherubim but to those singing the hymn and renders the Greek *oi*, cf.

Οἱ τὰ χερουβεὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες ... ἀποθώμεθα ...
Iže heruvimy tajno obrazujušte ... otložim ... (9)

(6) This is the case with I. Ogiyenko's *Podil yedynoyi Khrystovoyi Tserkvy*, the review of which is reprinted on pp. 89-91.

(7) Djaparidze's *Medieval Slavic Manuscripts : A Bibliography of Printed Catalogues*, the review of which is reprinted here on pp. 159-162, lists only 664 entries and was superseded only six years after its appearance in 1957 by the publication in 1966 of the *Spravochnik-ukazatel' pechatnykh opisaniy slavyano-russkikh rukopisey* compiled by N. Bel'chikov, Yu. Begunov and N. Rozhdestvensky which lists 2860 entries.

(8) This is the case with his review of I. Budovnits' *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya mysl' Drevney Rusi* on pp. 229-230.

(9) The necessity in English of placing the auxiliary first removes all the ambiguity : *Let us mystically representing the Cherubim .. lay aside ...*

Exception can be taken to his claim that among the works translated into Slavonic at an early stage were three secular ones, viz. Agapetus the Deacon's *Expositio* (p. 13), the *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* (p. 15) and Josephus' *De bello judaico* (p. 15). While it may well be that the Byzantines viewed them in that way, the Slavs most definitely did not : the tale of Barlaam and Joasaph was viewed as a true *vita* and from very early times excerpts from it were included in the *synaxarium sub* 11 and 16 April, 10 August, 16-17, 19-25 and 28 November. The interpolation into the Slavonic translation of Josephus' history of a whole series of accounts of the Magi, the Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, Christ's trial and crucifixion and the Apostles' preaching clearly shows that it was not viewed as secular history but as the historical background to Christ's earthly life ([10]). The virtually complete absence of a secular component in early Slav culture, in which all was viewed *sub specie religionis*, is one of the major differences between it and Byzantine culture.

A very valuable survey of Slavonic translations of Byzantine works in one particular area is given in *Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs* (pp. 585-615), but of all the entries in this collection it is the one which required the most revision and updating and there is nothing at all on it in the *Addenda*. To give a few examples : the medical text entitled *Galenus in Hippocratem* is in Ševčenko's opinion *wrongly* (p. 609) ascribed to Galen in Slavonic, a view which fails to take account of the fact that it is ascribed to Galen in Greek too, e.g. in *codex 148* of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, ff. 4^{r}-15^{v}. The earliest Slavonic *brontologion* does not date from the early fourteenth century (p. 609) since the *Tonitruale Heraclii* is found in the thirteenth-century *codex 651* of the National Library of Serbia, ff. 89^{v}-96^{r}. The claim that *codex Vaticanus graecus 143* is the closest to the famous florilegium translated for Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria (893-927) (p. 598) is incorrect, it is *Coislin 120*, which has the final two entries missing in the former MS ; moreover, Ševčenko's assertion (*ibidem*) that the Greek manuscript tradition contradicts the statement in the eulogy of the tsar found in the Slavonic translation of the florilegium that the tsar selected the entries for the florilegium is also incorrect since that tradition points to precisely the late ninth-early tenth century as the time when the florilegium was compiled. He repeats the old theory that *instances of relatively quick reception of Byzantine works by the Slavs are few* (p. 587, n. 4), but his brief list could be extended by many more names such as Alexius Studites, Nicephorus of St. Sophia, Nicetas of Heracleia, Nicetas Stethatus, Nicon of the Black Mount, Paul of Monembasia and Theophylact of Ochrida. In actual fact the Slavs over the centuries received the works of many contemporary writers. It is also difficult to see how Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev

(10) On Agapetus see below.

(† 1406) could have copied *codex 144* of Moscow Theological Academy which contains the works of Dionysius Areopagita (p. 596, n. 22) since its watermarks are of 1440-1454. Some of his statements while not factually inaccurate are hypothetical, e.g. there is absolutely no evidence for the suggestion (p. 610, n. 52) that Greek medical texts were perhaps translated at the hospital founded by King Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321) at the monastery of St. John the Baptist at Petra in Constantinople since the hospital was staffed solely by Greek doctors and it is significant that even in its dealings with the Serb monastery of Hilandar on Athos Greek was used, e.g. the deed of 1322 concerning the village of Mamytzonos ([11]). His derivation of the name of the Slavonic geomantic work known as the *Rafli* from *Ῥάμπλιον* (p. 611) is less than likely since the latter was an astrological not a geomantic work ; a more likely origin is the middle Latin term *raffla* meaning the casting of lots. It is a pity that he has not substantiated his allegation that this reviewer's article *The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and Its Implications for Russian Culture* ([12]) suffers from *an anti-Orthodox bias* (p. 586, n. 2) : it certainly berates the early Russian church for theological silence and debased formalism — hardly surprising in the light of the fact that many of the most important patristic dogmatic works were never translated — but nowhere in that article (or in any other) has this reviewer identified the early Russian church with Orthodoxy. Nevertheless these criticisms involve details and the value of this contribution to the study of Byzantine-Slav relations is beyond any doubt.

In the same article Ševčenko also quite rightly points out that the serious mistranslation in the Slavonic rendering of Jude 13 casts doubt upon the attribution of the translation to Methodius (p. 600, n. 30). It should be added that similar grave errors occur in other New Testament books, e.g. Matthew xiii, 23 ; Acts xvii, 19, 22 ; Galatians iv, 17, which makes it unlikely that the original Methodian translation has survived. Three of the articles in this collection are devoted specifically to Cyrillomethodian themes. His 1956 article *The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine* (pp. 93-106) (i.e. Cyril) remains to this day the basic work on the subject and it is a pity that in the *Addendum* (p. 727) he does not deal with F. Grivec' criticism that he had paid insufficient attention to the ascetic aspect of Cyril's philosophy ([13]). In the *Addendum* (pp. 735-738) to his article *On the Social Background of Cyril and Methodius* (pp. 479-492) he rightly admits that the social

(11) Ed. *Actes de l'Athos*, vol. v. *Actes de Chilandar*, pt. i. *Actes grecs*, ed. L. Petit. *Vizantiysky vremennik*, xvii (1911) app. pp. i-iii, 1-368, see no. 82, pp. 175-177.

(12) *Slavica Gandensia*, v, (1978), pp. 107-139.

(13) *Constantinus Philosophus — amicus Photii. Orientalia christiana periodica*, xxiii (1957), pp. 415-422.

status of the saint's father Leo, a *drungarius*, may have been somewhat better than he had originally allowed and dismisses K. Bonis' lucubrations on the subject with the sarcasm which they so richly deserve. A case of scholarly serendipity, if there ever was one, was Ševčenko's chance discovery of a Greek text in *codex Scurialensis Ψ. III. 7*, f. 317r, which corresponds to half of the Slavonic text of the inscription on a chalice which according to Cyril's *vita* once belonged to Solomon. It is a pity that in this reprint of *The Greek Source of the Inscription on Solomon's Chalice in the Vita Constantini* (pp. 285-298) the two mistakes in the inscription are repeated (p. 294) : *oŭ* should read *oὗ* and *πομα πόμα*. In the *Addendum* (pp. 729-733) he rightly dismisses both M. Taube's claim that the inscription betrays an influence of the Vulgate and R. Picchio's "revision" of the inscription on the basis of this theory of tonic isocolism, but he adds (p. 733) that he still cannot explain the principle according to which Cyril interpreted the number 909, with which the inscription ends, as being the number of years from the twelfth year of Solomon's reign to Christ' birth. In fact M. Capaldo has provided the solution to the problem : the textology of the various redactions reveal that the original was *ĩ p̃ ĩ θ*, viz. 10 100 10 9 = 10 × 100 + 10 + 9 = 1019, and since according to Maximus the Confessor's *Computus ecclesiasticus* Solomon began his reign in 1031, the twelfth year was 1019. The error of 909 arose when the initial *ĩ* was written out as *devęt'* instead of *desęt'* and the second *ĩ* misinterpreted to mean *and*, viz. 9 100 and 9 (14). Since neither Ševčenko's translation (p. 286) nor any of the many translations of the *vita* render the inscription correctly, a new translation is given here :

1a. *My chalice, my chalice, prophesy until the star,*
1b. *Be the drink for the Lord, the first-born* (15), *keeping vigil in the night,*
2a. *Created for the Lord's tasting of another tree* (16).
2b. *Drink and be drunk with joy and cry out : Hallelujah.*

(14) M. Capaldo. *Sulla datazione di un' iscrizione pseudo-salomonica ad opera di Costantino il Filosofo*, in : *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti*, ed. G. Brogi Bercoff *et al.* Rome, 1990, pp. 945-960.

(15) *V" pivo budi Gospodi pr"ven'cu* could in theory be rendered : *Be the drink, O Lord, for the firstborn*, but the Greek excludes this interpretation.

(16) *Na v"kušenie gospodne s"tvorena dreva inogo* has given rise to most controversy. Ševčenko (p. 286) translates : *Created for the Lord's taste (from) another wood* ; cf. Capaldo, *Datazione* p. 946 : *Fatto per la degustazione del Signore, dell' altro albero.* However, the Slavonic does not read *created from : s"tvorena ot"*, besides which the chalice was made of precious stone, not wood. *S"tvorena* is sometimes taken to be genitive singular neuter agreeing with *another tree : dreva inogo*, but since *inogo* is in the long, definite form, whereas *s"tvorena* is in the short, indefinite form, they cannot both refer to *dreva.*

3a. *Behold the prince, and the whole assembly will see his glory,*
3b. *And David the king in the midst of them. 10 100 10 9.*

It is incidentally incorrect that the inscription is only found in East Slav manuscripts (p. 286) : it is, for instance found on ff. 209^{v}-210^{r} in the florilegium copied for the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371) in 1348 ([17]).

One of the earliest preserved Slavonic codices is the eleventh-century Glagolitic *Euchologium Sinaiticum, codex slavicus 37* of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai. In 1975 a sensational discovery of MSS in the crypt of St. George's Church in the monastery was made and in 1979 Ševčenko was permitted to take four photographs of non-Greek fragments. In his *Report on the Glagolitic Fragments (of the* Euchologium Sinaiticum ?) *Discovered on Sinai in 1975 and Some Thoughts on the Models for the Make-up of the Earliest Glagolitic Manuscripts* (pp. 617-650) Ševčenko published two of the photographs which depict the *recto* of one Glagolitic folio and the *verso* of another as well as a fragments of the *verso* of the first folio visible through a hole in the second. They contain the text of parts of terse, sext and vespers. He also gave the corresponding Greek texts and an English translation (pp. 620, 630-634), as well as a facsimile of the folia (pp. 621-622). The facsimile is in places illegible, which unfortunately applies to all the other facimile reproductions in this book. Ševčenko concluded that the two folia may well belong to the *Euchologium Sinaiticum*. At the same time he noted Italo-Greek traits in the illumination of the latter codex as well as in that of other early Glagolitic codices, viz. the *Psalterium Sinaiticum, Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Assemanianus*, and postulated Byzantine Italy as a place from which cultural influences reached the Balkans between the ninth and eleventh centuries. In the *Addendum* (pp. 738-740) he reports that the detailed description of all the new Slavonic finds published by J. Tarnanidis in 1988 *proves* (p. 740) that the two folia, as well as 26 more, do belong to the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* ([18]). While agreeing that this may be the case, it has to be pointed out that only four folia, including these two, belong to the *horologium* section of a *euchologium* and that they contain an asmatic form of the offices, whereas the *hagiasmatarium* section of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* contains the office of genuflexion at vespers on Whitsunday in a monastic form. It is not rare

(17) Ed. K. Kuev *Ivan Aleksandroviyat sbornik ot 1348 g.* Sofia, 1981, p. 385.

(18) It seems to this reviewer that Tarnanidis was a little niggardly with regard to the credit which he allowed Ševčenko, whose study he only mentions *en passant* with regard to the order of services in Byzantine *horologia*, see I. Tarnandis. *The Slavonic Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.* Thessalonica, 1988, p. 72. For excellent facsimiles of the folia described by Ševčenko see *ibid.* pp. 219-221.

for early *euchologia* to have eclectic texts, but the question whether these four folia do indeed come from the same codex requires more study.

Ševčenko's suggestion of an Italo-Greek influence on early Slav culture led this reviewer to publish a survey of the other evidence for such an influence, principally in the choice of works translated ([19]). In his *Addendum* to his *Report* Ševčenko suggests that my concentration of attention upon contacts between S. Italy and Bulgaria, which he calls *a lone Slavic group* (p. 739), was too narrow a perspective and more fruitful results could be obtained from examining links between the two shores of the Adriatic, especially in view of Italo-Greek influences on Epirote codices. It is, of course, very possible that Italo-Greek influences spread from Epirus into Macedonia, from where incidentally the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* comes, but in the period under review *Bulgaria* does not, of course, mean the area covered by the modern state of that name but subsumes Macedonia, and there is no evidence for Serbian literary activity prior to the late twelfth century. Recently S. Parenti has pointed out that the eleventh-century Glagolitic *Folia Sinaitica*, which contain part of a *hieraticum*, also betray Italo-Greek liturgical peculiarities ([20]). The Italo-Greek influence on early Slav culture is fact, but as yet the way in which it passed to the Slavs remains an open question.

There can be no doubt but that *Ljubomudrějšij Kŷr" Agapit Diakon : On a Kievan Edition of a Byzantine Mirror of Princes* (pp. 497-557) is the definitive study of the three Slavonic translations of Agapetus the Deacon's *Expositio*. Ševčenko's dating of the first translation to Bulgaria in the tenth century is undoubtedly correct and in the *Addendum* (pp. 726-727) he rightly calls M. Dyachok's chauvinistic attempt to date it to Russia in the eleventh century *a doomed effort*. He also states that it is *the earliest known Old Slavonic translation of a secular Greek text* (p. 504), which is correct but misleading. Elsewhere he claims that it is *the very first secular work of Slavic literature* (p. 13), which is incorrect : it may well have been considered a secular work by the Byzantines, but for the Slavs it was not a mirror of princes but a collection of moralistic gnomes for anyone exercizing authority as is clearly revealed by the various additions to the title, e.g. in *Uvarov codex 249* we find *for boyars, bishops, abbots and monks*, while in *Archangel codex S17* it has been appended to Maximus the Confessor's *Capita de caritate* as the fifth century. It is significant that the selection of 22 aphorisms in the celebrated

(19) *Early Slavonic Translations – an Italo-Greek Connection ? Slavica Gandensia*, xii (1985), pp. 221-234.

(20) *Influssi italo-greci nei testi eucaristici bizantini dei "Fogli Slavi" del Sinai (XI sec.). Orientalia christiana periodica*, lvii (1991), pp. 145-177. Whether these three folia are all that survive of the *hieraticum* section of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* is open to doubt.

Slavonic florilegium of 1076, some nineteen of which — as Ševčenko has established : *On Some Sources of Prince Svjatoslav's Izbornik Of the Year 1076* (pp. 241-261) — are taken from Agapetus, is entitled *Admonition to the Rich*. The *Addendum* to this latter article (p. 729) does not point out that the sources of the other three aphorisms have since been established, viz. cc. 58 and 60 of the first century of Maximus' *Capita de caritate* and c. 28 of the anonymous *Epicteti Enchiridii paraphrasis*. His idea that the Pseudo-Basilian *Homily on Judges and Those in Authority* goes back to the *Admonition to the Rich* (pp. 252-253) is incorrect as it goes back to a different selection of Agapetus' aphorisms found in a legal collection known as the *Statera iusta (Merilo pravednoe)*. It should also have been pointed out in the *Addendum* that his suspicion that the theory of a Kievan origin of the 1076 florilegium might have to be modified (p. 261) has been proved to be correct : in a whole series of articles since 1980 W. Veder has convincingly argued that it was in fact compiled in Bulgaria ([21]). It is much to be regretted that he has not published the first translation of Agapetus, a microfilm of which has been available to him since 1963 (see p. 245, n. 10). On the other hand his facsimile edition of the third translation published at Kiev in 1628 (pp. 529-557) is most welcome, although once again it is in places illegible with the result that the interested scholar will have to consult the not easily accessible periodical in which the article first appeared. Three minor points : the 1766 Russian translation and edition of Agapetus' treatise which he mentions (p. 523, n. 77) is a ghost work ; both references to the 1680 Kiev edition of the third translation are incorrect (p. 522, n. 75) ([22]), while the Rumanian translation of the Slavonic translation of Pseudo-Basil I's *Exhortationes ad Leonem filium* is found not only in a MS of the 18th century (p. 522) but also in 17th-century codices together with the Rumanian translation of the third Slavonic translation of Agapetus, e.g. *codex 3190* of the Rumanian Academy.

In the earliest article which Ševčenko devoted to the Slavonic versions of Agapetus, *A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology* (pp. 49-87) he traced the influence of the work on Muscovite authors. It is a pity that in his *Addendum* (pp. 726-727) he has not pointed out that his use of a quotation in the Laurentian Chronicle *sub* 1175 to date the Slavonic translation of the *Melissa* (pp. 50-52) is vitiated by the fact that the quotation is not from the *Melissa* but from Agapetus ([23]). He could also have pointed

(21) See, for example, *The* "Izbornik *of John the Sinner*" : *a Compilation from Compilations. Polata knigopisnaja*, viii (1983), pp. 15-37.

(22) They should read Sopikov no. 1434 and Karatayev no. 862.

(23) His mistake was due to the fact that at the time he wrote this first article on Agapetus in 1954 he considered the earliest translation of Agapetus to be only of the 14th or 15th century (p. 60).

out that his idea that the eulogy of Grand Prince Basil III of Muscovy (1505-1533) found in the chronicle known as the *Book of Degrees (Stepennaja kniga)* used an untraced Byzantine panegyric as a source (pp. 68-69) has been disproved by the subsequent edition of the original version of the eulogy which does not contain the passages which Ševčenko cites as evidence ([24]). It also reveals that the anonymous author made ample use of the second Slavonic translation of Agapetus. Incidentally, the idea that Cyril of Turov in his work on the monastic life addressed to abbot Basil used the full version of the *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* (p. 58) is incorrect, he used the excerpt from it found in the *synaxarium sub* 23 November.

Without doubt *The Date and Author of the So-Called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus* (pp. 353-478) is one of Ševčenko's major contributions to Byzantine studies. His conclusion that the fragments are a forgery by Karl Benedikt Hase (1789-1864) is most convincing and it is a pity that he has mainly limited his remarks in the *Addendum* (pp. 733-735) to giving a few examples of scholars who have accepted or rejected this conclusion. He should have refuted in detail the arguments of his major adversary, the Bulgarian historian I. Bozhilov, who accused him of merely attempting to prove a preconceived hypothesis. It would not have been too difficult to do so since Bozhilov simply ignores much of Ševčenko's evidence ([25]), e.g. why did Hase first intend to publish two fragments and only add a third at the last moment ? Why did he fail to list the *hapax legomena* in any of his lexical works ? Why did the author of the fragments make use of quotations from Thucydides in a way alien to Byzantine literary norms ? However, even if the manuscript (seen only by Hase) were to turn up and be found to be genuine, it would in no way alter the fact that in view of their enigmatic nature the fragments cannot be quoted by a serious historian as reliable evidence of anything : was the author a Greek, a Goth or a steppe dweller ? Was the ruler north of the Danube a Russian prince, and if so Igor, Svyatoslav, Vladimir or Yaroslav, or a Bulgarian tsar, and if so Symeon or — as Bozhilov would have — Samuel ? Were the barbarians Huns, Khazars, Patzinaks, Hungarians, Bulgars, Bulgarians or Russians (if the last named, of the Scandinavian or Slav variety) ? These are only some of the questions to which no definite answers could be given even if the fragments were genuine. The article reproduces Hase's *editio princeps* of 1819 in a facsimile that is once again illegible in places (pp. 355-360). The reprint is also marred by the misprint *Ἑλληνικῶν τρόπων* (p. 364), which should read (as in the original article on p. 127)

(24) Ed. N. Rozov. *Pokhval'noye slovo velikomu knyazyu Vasiliyu III. Arkheograficheskiy yezhegodnik za 1964* (publ. 1965), pp. 278-289, see pp. 281-289.

(25) See especially I. Bozhilov. *Anonimât na Khaze. Bâlgariya i Vizantiya na Dolni Dunav v kraya na X vek*. Sofia, 1979, above all pp. 132-146.

Ἑλληνικωτέρων τρόπων, a phrase which is one of Ševčenko's arguments against the authenticity of the fragments (see pp. 412-413). Ševčenko's preface to the 1975 reprint of F. Westberg's *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Gothicus (Anonymous Tauricus) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert* succinctly summarizes the arguments of his lengthy study of the fragments and is also included in this collection (pp. 559-573).

His review of the first issue of *Harvard Slavic Studies* (pp. 43-48) deals principally with R. Jakobson's article *The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature* and *inter alia* claims that there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the twelfth-century Russian *Igor' Tale* (p. 47). His article *"To the unknown Land": A Proposed Emendation of the Text of the Igor' Tale* (pp. 31-36) is devoted to this tale and it seems to have been ignored since to the best of this reviewer's knowledge nobody seems to have specifically accepted or rejected the emendation. *Imagery of the Igor' Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory* (pp. 151-158) is his review of J. Besharov's book by the same name and once again Ševčenko expresses his opinion that the *Igor' Tale* can be dated to the twelfth century. However, in his preface to this collection Ševčenko casually remarks that *today I have great difficulty in dating the Tale to the twelfth century* (p. XI). It is a pity that he did not elaborate upon this. To this reviewer W. Schamschula's theory that it was written by the minor Russian poet and historian Ivan Yelagin (1725-1793) seems more likely than that it is a work by a twelfth-century bard, but the disputes about the *Igor' Tale* can be likened to the arguments about the origin of the tale of the quest for the Holy Grail, of which the noted English historian Christopher Brooke remarked :

> *The origin of the Grail is a quagmire in which many scholarly reputations have sunk without trace* ([26]).

Some of the emendations of the scribal corruptions in the Slavonic translation of George Choeroboscus' *De tropis poeticis* which Ševčenko suggests in this review of Besharov's book are obviously correct and it is a pity that they have been totally ignored in subsequent studies of that translation.

The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla (pp. 651-687) is undoubtedly an excellent survey of the historical importance of Metropolitan Peter Mogila of Kiev (1596/7-1647) and of the role played by the College which he established at Kiev in 1631. However, issue can be taken with some of its claims. Is there any evidence to support the statement that Mogila became a monk at the Kievan Caves Monastery in 1625 (p. 654) ? Was he not still a layman when elected archimandrite in 1627 ? The claim that the liturgical alterations

(26) *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*. London, 1969, p. 170.

made to the *euchologium* published at Kiev in 1646 were based on Greek sources (pp. 659, 661) is incorrect since the main source was the *Rituale Romanum* promulgated by Pope Paul V on 17 June 1614 in his bull *Apostolicae sedi*, and these influences are still patently obvious in all editions of the Orthodox Slavonic *hieraticum*. In his discussion of the language in which Mogila's *Confessio fidei* was drawn up (pp. 666-667) he has failed to take the evidence of *codex 116* of the Synodal collection at Moscow into account, which, as this reviewer has pointed out ([27]), makes it likely that it was drawn up simultaneously in both Latin and Slavonic. Incidentally the *Confessio* was first published in Greek at Amsterdam in 1666, and not 1667 as stated here (p. 666). He is right to reject the accusations of "crypto-Romanism" and the "pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy" levelled at Mogila by the Russian theologian Georges Florovsky but wrong to conclude that these accusations *imply that the yardstick for measuring what is Orthodox is kept in Russia* (p. 676), since for Florovsky the yardstick was not Russia but "Christian Hellenism", an artificial construct based on the idea of a return to a patristic golden age by means of a "neopatristic synthesis" ([28]). Ševčenko's negative portrait of Paisius Ligarides (c. 1609-1678), whom he mistakenly calls Patriarch of Jerusalem (p. 662) — he was, of course, Metropolitan of Gaza — is certainly justified since he was a self-centred, avaricious schemer, but were his activities not at least partly motivated by a genuine belief in the supraconfessional unity of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches ? Since in this article Ševčenko also discusses the pamphlet which appeared at Kiev in 1632 under the title *Euchasterion* (pp. 669-673), it seems a pity that his 1984 facsimile reprint of it has not been included in this collection.

Byzantine Cultural Influences (pp. 107-149) is a historiography of Soviet studies on that subject down to 1955 and it clearly reveals their frequently chauvinistic and antihistorical nature. It is much to be regretted that he has not written a sequel covering the period since 1955. The somewhat opaque statement in it that the *Epanagoge* was translated by a *Ukrainian scholar* from *a printed edition prepared in Western Europe by a German humanist* (p. 110) can only refer to Epiphanius Slavinetsky's 1656 translation of Joannes Löwenklaw's celebrated collection of Byzantine law published in 1596 under the title *Juris Graeco-Romani tam canonici quam civilis tomi duo* ([29]) and

(27) *Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of the Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy. Slavica Gandensia*, xx (1993), pp. 67-119, see pp. 94-95.

(28) See *ibid.* pp. 103-110. Needless to say, Florovsky did not explain in detail how this was to be achieved.

(29) He first translated it in 1653 but in the confusion of the plague that raged in Moscow in 1653/4 the translation was lost and he had to make a second one in 1656.

it is not quite accurate as that collection does not contain the *Epanagoge* but a conflation of it with the *Ecloga* ([30]). It is a pity that he does not point out in an *addendum* that I. Grabar's rare study of the art of Theophanes the Greek published at Kazan in 1922 which was unavailable to him (see p. 145, n. 120) is now available in reprint ([31]). His comparative review of the second part of the fourth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History* dealing with the government, church and civilization of Byzantium and the corresponding sections of the three-volume Soviet history of Byzantium published in the same year (1967) (pp. 339-351) provides a clear insight into the different underlying assumptions and conceptual frameworks of the two works. It could be added that the three-volume history of Byzantine culture published at Moscow between 1984 and 1991 reveals that Russian Byzantinists still have some way to go in freeing themselves from the constraints of a preconceived Marxist ideology.

The remaining entries in the collection can be briefly dealt with. The two conclusions of his article *The* Civitas Russorum *and the Alleged Falsification of the Latin Excommunication Bull by Kerullarios* (pp. 173-184) that Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida did not return to Rome via Russia when he left Constantinople in 1054, nor did Patriarch Michael Cerullarius falsify the text of the Latin bull excommunicating him when it was translated into Greek are undoubtedly correct and in an *Addendum* (p. 728) he points out that the first of these conclusions had already been reached in 1906 by W. Szcześniak. In *Sviatoslav in Byzantine and Slavic Miniatures* (pp. 231-240) he deals with depictions of Prince Svyatoslav of Kiev (964-972), principally the five in the celebrated *codex Matritensis Vitr. 26-2* of John Scylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*. Surprisingly there is no *Addendum* — his own 1984 article *The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Scylitzes in the Light of Its New Dating* would have been worth a mention, indeed it could usefully have been included in this collection. *An Important Contribution to the Social History of Late Byzantium* (pp. 17-30) is his review of G. Ostrogorsky's study of the *pronoia* system. The *Addendum* (p. 726) mentions the French translation of the study which was published in 1954 but omits to point out that the Serbian original was republished in 1969 ([32]).

(30) Viz. *Epanagoge* titles i-ix, xi + *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata* titles xx-xxviii + *Ecloga* titles xi-xix, xxviii, see vol. ii, pp. 79-134. This conflation with Löwenklaw's Latin translation is also found in Migne, *PG* cxiii (1864), coll. 453-550.

(31) See I. Grabar'. *O drevnerusskom iskusstve. (Issledovaniya, restavratsiya i okhrana pamyatnikov).* Moscow, 1966. It was originally published under the title *Feofan Grek. Ocerk iz istorii drevnerusskoy zhivopisi* in the first issue of the *Kazansky Muzeyny vestnik* for 1922.

(32) *Sabrana dela Georgija Ostrogorskog*, vol. i. Belgrade, 1969, pp. 119-342.

The collection also contains four brief obituaries of George Soulis (pp. 263-265), Michael Cherniavsky (pp. 493-495), Francis Dvornik (pp. 575-579) and George Ostrogorsky (pp. 581-584). That of Soulis ends with an expression of hope that his work on Stefan Dušan and Byzantium will soon be published. Surely an *addendum* should have been included to the effect that the book has since appeared (33). The obituary of Cherniavsky ends with a statement that must rank as a momunent to enigmatic innuendo : *It is best to stop short of exploring the landscape in which he was lost in the end.* The collection is provided with a useful index (pp. 693-724), although it unfortunately does not cover the contents of the *Addenda.*

Not being a Byzantine saint Ihor Ševčenko has not — as yet — achieved synchronic bilocation, but his diachronic multilocation — a Ukrainian born in Poland who studied at Prague and Louvain and has taught in the USA, not to mention his peregrinations as the chairman of the *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines* — certainly entitles him to be considered an *ἄνθρωπος διεθνής*. It is not to this, however, that he owes his international reputation as a Byzantinist and Slavist, but to his sound scholarship and profound learning. For this reason the appearance of a third collection of his studies which will make his work more readily and conveniently available is very much to be welcomed.

Francis J. THOMSON.

Naissance des arts chrétiens. Atlas des monuments paléochrétiens de la France (Atlas archéologique de la France) (ouvrage collectif). Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1991, 434 pp., ill.

Si la longue période qui s'étend entre la Paix de l'Eglise (313) et la Renaissance carolingienne n'avait guère suscité de véritable recherche archéologique en France jusqu'il y a vingt-cinq ans d'ici, la situation a radicalement changé ces dernières années, à l'initiative d'une nouvelle génération de chercheurs et grâce à la multiplication des découvertes, due notamment aux fouilles de sauvetage. Aussi le moment était-il venu de faire le point. C'est en 1983 que fut créée l'équipe d'archéologues et d'historiens qui, sous la responsabilité d'un comité de rédaction présidé par Noël Duval, allait mener à bien l'entreprise : l'atlas des monuments paléochrétiens de la France sortit de presse à la fin de 1991. Destiné tant au lecteur cultivé, amateur de beaux livres, qu'au spécialiste soucieux d'information complète et récente, l'ouvrage répond parfaitement aux objectifs que s'étaient fixés les auteurs. Mêlant de manière

(33) G. SOULIS. *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and His Successors*, ed. J. Allen and S. Vryonis. Washington, 1984.

suggestive texte et illustration, la structure même du volume invite à la lecture : des images bien choisies, d'une exceptionnelle qualité (aucune d'entre elles ne laisse indifférent), accompagnent le développement du thème sans que des appels de planches soient nécessaires ; chaque illustration donne lieu à une notice explicative discrète mais efficace. De nombreux plans, tantôt intégrés au texte, tantôt rassemblés, à des fins démonstratives, en planches spéciales (sur un fond blanc cassé qui les distingue), permettent de suivre aisément l'étude architecturale des monuments ; diverses cartes enfin matérialisent, quand il le faut, des répartitions d'évêchés, d'ateliers monétaires, de nécropoles...

À l'agrément de la présentation répond la rigueur toute scientifique de l'exposé et l'absence de notes est largement compensée par l'abondance d'une bibliographie spécialisée, après chacun des chapitres. Ainsi que l'explique J. Fontaine dans sa lumineuse préface, l'*Atlas* est l'expression d'un «projet résolument situé entre hier et demain» (p. 14). Bilan des recherches les plus récentes, il prépare, par une série d'analyses scientifiques, les travaux et synthèses de l'avenir et prend du même coup valeur de programme. «Poser les bonnes questions et prendre tous les moyens d'y répondre, même si la réponse doit être différée, sous bénéfice d'inventaires ultérieurs...» (p. 24) : telle est bien l'optique dans laquelle ont travaillé les collaborateurs de ce livre, visant à montrer «un état provisoire d'une recherche en cours». À l'intérieur de quelques grandes orientations thématiques, sont analysés les aspects les plus divers de l'implantation du christianisme en Gaule. Au large panorama historique des premiers siècles chrétiens, brossé par Ch. Piétri, succède une série d'études plus ciblées, regroupées sous la rubrique «Institutions et société ; cités et campagnes chrétiennes». Le rôle des évêques comme principaux maîtres d'œuvre de l'architecture chrétienne et dignes successeurs, jusqu'à la fin du VIe siècle, des magistrats évergètes du monde antique est d'abord mis en évidence par J.-Ch. Picard ; ensuite, c'est à l'*ecclesia* (sa définition, son emplacement dans la cité, sa composition, son organisation, son plan, son extension à la *domus ecclesiae*) que s'intéresse N. Duval, réexaminant systématiquement les théories d'autrefois à la lumière des découvertes récentes (à Lyon, Rouen, Grenoble, Antibes, Viviers et surtout Genève — qui appartenait aussi à la Gaule), ce qui l'amène souvent à nuancer les conclusions anciennes (à propos des églises doubles, p. ex., l'auteur démontre qu'en dépit d'exemples nombreux, il est exagéré de supposer l'existence d'un plan-type, ainsi que l'avait fait J. Hubert). À l'*ecclesia*, église de la communauté chrétienne, située dans la ville, est étroitement lié le baptistère, où avaient lieu, au moment de Pâques (primitivement tout au moins), les baptêmes collectifs ; l'étude qu'y consacre J. Guyon met en lumière l'étonnante diversité des solutions architecturales adoptées dans les monuments conservés, «autant de variantes subtiles autour d'un thème unique — un octogone inscrit dans un carré» (p. 73), diversité qui rend bien difficile la compréhension du rituel pratiqué. Autour de la ville, *extra muros*,

se sont construites peu à peu, au-dessus des corps des martyrs ou de saints personnages, des «basiliques suburbaines» (sur leur origine : P. Périn) : à ce «monde des morts» et à la dévotion particulière qui s'y développe, P. A. Février consacre ici quelques pages évocatrices. Au-delà, ce sont les nécropoles : l'article de synthèse qui les étudie (B. K. Young avec la collaboration de P. Périn), portant surtout sur les nécropoles mérovingiennes, pose d'emblée le problème essentiel de la méthode : l'archéologie funéraire répond aujourd'hui à des objectifs qui dépassent la simple collection d'objets et contribue, dans cette vision renouvelée, à «l'histoire des sociétés, des économies, des mentalités» (p. 98). Ainsi faut-il renoncer à un certain nombre d'idées reçues — ou tout au moins y introduire des nuances —, sur la signification ethnique des coutumes funéraires, sur les raisons des variations dans l'orientation des corps, sur l'apparition et la permanence dans des régions déterminées de l'«inhumation habillée» ... Liés à la décision privée des familles jusqu'à l'époque carolingienne, les rites funéraires constituent un domaine mouvant où il n'est guère aisé de faire des généralisations. Ce qui me semble toutefois ressortir clairement de l'enquête, c'est un retard relatif dans la christianisation des coutumes funéraires par rapport à ce qu'on sait de la christianisation des habitudes de vie à la même époque. Deux phénomènes importants sont encore pris en compte dans le cadre de ce volet sur la société : la création progressive des paroisses, à partir du Ve siècle, qui n'atteindra son plein épanouissement qu'aux Xe-XIe siècles (M. Colardelle) et l'expansion du monachisme à partir de la fin du IVe siècle, sous l'influence de l'Egypte et de l'Orient (P. A. Février). Le chapitre suivant groupe trois études relatives à l'examen des sources : sources écrites (littéraires : J.-Ch. Picard ; épigraphiques : N. Gauthier), sources numismatiques (Cl. Brenot). Les témoignages archéologiques enfin sont reclassés en deux séries différentes : les édifices de culte (architecture, décor, mobilier liturgique) d'une part, les sarcophages sculptés, mobilier funéraire et arts mineurs, de l'autre. Insistant au premier abord sur la difficulté de faire une synthèse en raison de l'extrême diversité des données nouvelles (soigneusement analysées du point de vue des plans possibles des édifices, des dômes et tours, des chevets, absides, sacristies, des cryptes, des portiques latéraux, des *atria*...), N. Duval conclut en définitive de manière optimiste sur la perspective — vu les progrès réalisés en vingt ans — de pouvoir bientôt donner des premières églises de Gaule une vision tout autre que celle qu'en avait proposée J. Hubert en 1938 et encore en 1952. L'idée qu'on peut avoir du décor architectural de ces édifices est vague : selon P.-A. Février, l'influence de Constantinople devait être importante ; mais, s'il est vrai que les bâtisseurs de ce temps puisaient dans la tradition antique des matériaux et des modèles, il ne faut pas oublier qu'ils étaient tout de même capables d'intégrer ces éléments en une création originale. Différentes techniques décoratives sont ensuite examinées : terre cuite (M.-Chr. Maufus), mosaïque de pavement,

mosaïque murale (X. Barral i Altet), peinture murale (A. Barbet). Enfin, le mobilier liturgique qu'on trouvait dans ces églises n'est pas oublié : tables d'autel de formes diverses, chancels, polycandelons... (C. Metzger). Trois articles concernent les sarcophages. Traitant de la belle série des cuves d'Arles, P.-A. Février pose surtout des questions : celle de la répartition entre production locale et importations, des raisons qui ont motivé l'arrêt de la production en Arles à la fin du IVe siècle, celle aussi des commanditaires ; pour les ateliers du Sud-Ouest, il insiste sur la précarité des datations et n'exclut pas qu'une totale réévaluation du problème ne s'impose un jour. Qu'ils soient taillés dans la pierre ou coulés dans le plâtre, les sarcophages mérovingiens donnent lieu — sans doute en raison des très grandes séries qui ont été découvertes — à des études plus techniques, tant au plan de leur fabrication qu'à celui de leur commercialisation. G. R. Delahaye a montré, pour les cuves en pierre, qu'elles étaient fabriquées dans les carrières mêmes et ensuite diffusées principalement le long des voies d'eau ; il s'agissait donc d'un commerce véritablement organisé et, compte tenu des frais à engager, seuls les grands domaines, laïcs ou religieux, entrent en ligne de compte comme «producteurs» possibles de ces sarcophages de pierre. Moins chers parce que moulés en série, les sarcophages de plâtre témoignent de l'existence d'une «industrie plâtrière» active dans la région parisienne, impliquant une abondante extraction de gypse, l'acheminement de celui-ci et sa cuisson dans les ateliers de sarcophages, le montage des coffrages de bois, la coulée du plâtre, le démoulage et enfin le stockage des produits (P. Périn). Parmi les arts mineurs, l'orfèvrerie occupe une place privilégiée (F. Baratte et C. Metzger) : souvent un symbole (croix, christogramme) suffit à christianiser un objet, sans attester pour autant un usage liturgique. Mais l'iconographie vraiment chrétienne est rare et caractérise plutôt la vaisselle liturgique importée d'ateliers extérieurs à la Gaule. La figure d'Eligius, saint Eloi, orfèvre au service de Clotaire II et de Dagobert, devenu par la suite évêque de Noyon, ne peut être toutefois négligée, même si la plupart de ses œuvres ont disparu. Les deux derniers articles de ce chapitre étudient le décor chrétien sur verre (D. Foy) ou sur ivoire et os (J.-P. Caillet). L'ouvrage se termine par une évocation de l'intérêt porté à l'histoire des arts chrétiens au cours des temps (dès le Moyen Age, mais à partir du XVIe siècle surtout : P.-A. Février) et le développement particulier pris par cette discipline au XIXe siècle avec les grandes figures de Th. Vacquer, G. de Ponton d'Amécourt et de l'abbé J.-B. Cochet (X. Barral i Altet).

Remarquablement pensé dans sa conception même, ce livre offre, on le voit, un panorama très complet du sujet qu'il traite. Ce qui frappe surtout, outre la richesse de l'information fournie, c'est la cohérence interne et l'accord des auteurs sur la manière d'envisager maints problèmes : on retrouve en effet, à travers les différents articles, la même vision renouvelée, plus nuancée, du rapport des premiers chrétiens au monde païen qui les entoure encore, une

même recherche de ce qui relie les arts chrétiens à la tradition antique, le même intérêt pour le contexte socio-économique dans lequel s'inscrit cette production. Enfin, on ne peut passer sous silence tout ce que les spécialistes des arts paléochrétiens doivent à des lettrés comme Sulpice Sévère ou Sidoine Apollinaire et on saluera au passage la grande ombre de Grégoire de Tours, omniprésente au fil du livre.

Ajoutons qu'un glossaire des termes techniques facilitera la lecture à un large public et qu'une bibliographie générale et plusieurs *indices* font de ce superbe volume un excellent instrument de travail.

Janine BALTY.

J. BOUFFARTIGUE, *L'empereur Julien et la culture de son temps* (= *Collection des Études Augustiniennes*, série: *Antiquité*, 133), Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992 (ISBN 2.85121.127.7), 752 pages.

Dès les premières pages de cet ouvrage, on décèle deux traits caractéristiques qui ne peuvent qu'inspirer confiance au lecteur. La manière, tout d'abord, dont l'auteur entend considérer Julien. Du moment où il nous est dit que la littérature consacrée à cet empereur — dont il est difficile de parler *sine ira et studio* — a, selon la perspective, trouvé attrayants ou repoussants ses divers visages, on devine bien que J. Bouffartigue ne sera ni de ceux qui honnissent le Parabate ni de ceux qui versent à son propos dans l'hagiographie. Le bon sens et la rigueur, ensuite, qui président à l'analyse et à l'utilisation des témoignages concernant les années de jeunesse ont tôt fait de démontrer que l'on sera loin du manichéisme simplificateur d'un Bidez. C'est en effet par la difficile étude des étapes qui ont marqué la vie privée de Julien que s'ouvre le volume. Car, même si Ammien Marcellin (XVI, 5, 4-7) nous montre le jeune César réservant un tiers de ses nuits aux muses et aux discussions philosophiques, c'est évidemment au cours des années qui ont précédé son accession à la vie publique que Julien a acquis la plus grande partie de cette culture que révèlent ses œuvres. Or son témoignage personnel nous est toujours donné dans ce style de la seconde sophistique qui répugne à l'affirmation simple et directe. Et les indications que nous fournissent contemporains (Libanios, Grégoire de Naziance) ou écrivains postérieurs (Eunape, Socrate, Sozomène) concordent peu entre elles et paraissent souvent contredire ce qu'on lit chez Julien. Tout cela est ici mis en œuvre de main de maître pour éclairer un *cursus studiorum* contrarié par la relégation à Macellum ou la nécessité de faire approuver son déroulement par l'autorité impériale.

Pour nous dépeindre la vaste culture de Julien, J. Bouffartigue ne se borne pas à établir le catalogue des citations, allusions et emprunts que l'on découvre dans les œuvres littéraires de l'empereur. Il se sert de ces éléments pour dresser l'inventaire de ce qu'il appelle la *bibliothèque réelle* de Julien, l'ensemble des

œuvres dont nous pouvons être sûrs qu'il les a connues et remployées. D'autre part, les «nominations» et jugements portés sur les auteurs lui permettent de déterminer la *bibliothèque idéale* qui, ainsi que toutes les bibliothèques, comporte un «enfer» pour les réprouvés. Comme l'auteur nous y invite lui-même, on interprétera ces appellations de «bibliothèques» avec une certaine prudence. Diogène de Sinope, nommé 40 fois, arrive en troisième position, après Platon (55 fois nommé) et tout juste après Homère (45 «nominations»). Or, on le sait, la philosophie de Diogène s'exprime en actes et non en écrits : il doit donc s'agir, dans son cas, non d'œuvres personnelles, mais d'*ouvrages relatant les faits et gestes du fondateur du cynisme*... A ce minutieux travail d'analyse succèdent deux vastes synthèses, qui, s'appuyant sur les résultats obtenus, entendent décrire les savoirs de Julien et préciser le jugement qu'il porte sur les diverses valeurs de la *paideia*. On ne s'étonnera pas de trouver, dans l'un et l'autre de ces exposés, de nombreuses pages consacrées à la rhétorique et à la philosophie, ces *formes rivales de culture supérieure* (H.-I. Marrou).

C'est là certes un plan qui n'a point été établi à la légère. Pourtant, après une première lecture de l'ouvrage, plus d'un, j'imagine, se mettra à relire à la suite ce que l'on trouve, dans les divers chapitres, concernant Platon, Homère ou Plutarque. C'est, je l'avoue, ce que, poussé par mes démons familiers, j'ai fait à propos de Jamblique, dont le cas apparaît d'ailleurs éminemment paradoxal. Déterminé selon le critère choisi par l'auteur, bien modeste est le rang du sage de Chalcis, nommé seulement 11 fois, dans le catalogue de la bibliothèque idéale. Trois emprunts explicites assurent à Jamblique une place plus réduite encore dans la bibliothèque réelle. Tout cela est bien surprenant lorsqu'on sait combien Julien vénérait l'*illustre hiérophante* et avec quelle insistance il demande à Priscus de rechercher ses ouvrages (*Lettre 12*). Tout s'éclaire, lorsque (pp. 331-359) Jamblique et ses disciples sont examinés comme sources et informateurs de Julien. Encore qu'il se refuse à s'engager lui-même dans cette aventure ambitieuse, J. Bouffartigue souligne la nécessité de tirer au clair, dans une étude particulière, *la question encore presque totalement négligée du néoplatonisme de Julien*. Ou plutôt, dirais-je, de son "jambliquianisme", car il y a, au sein du néoplatonisme, tant d'écoles, tant de tendances, tant de sensibilités particulières ! Ne faudrait-il pas, dès lors, reprendre sur nouveaux frais le travail de R. Asmus mais, sans vouloir faire comme lui dériver Julien du seul *Commentaire à l'Aleibiade*, vérifier si l'on ne peut expliquer sinon toute son œuvre du moins une bonne partie de son information en partant de Jamblique ? Mais que d'obstacles ! Les œuvres de Julien appartiennent pratiquement toutes au genre rhétorique. Quelle idée nous ferions-nous des options philosophiques de Thémistios si nous ne possédions de lui que ses discours ? Les préoccupations de l'empereur qui voulait restaurer le paganisme le tournent d'autre part vers le Jamblique commentateur de Julien le théurge plutôt que vers ce Jamblique philosophe que nous connaissons encore si mal.

En dépit de son volume, cet ouvrage — auquel devront souvent recourir tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire de l'hellénisme et à l'histoire de l'éducation de l'Antiquité tardive — ne nous révèle qu'une partie seulement du travail de recherche considérable qu'il a exigé. Qui voudrait s'en convaincre n'aurait qu'à comparer aux trois pages (563-566) où est ici mise en lumière l'origine scolaire des connaissances de Julien sur le cynisme la contribution que J. Bouffartigue a donnée sur le même sujet au colloque consacré au *Cynisme ancien et ses prolongements* (Paris, juillet 1991, cf. Actes publiés sous le même titre par M.-O. Goulet-Cazé et R. Goulet, Paris, P.U.F., 1993). Sans doute, en dépit du soin apporté à la recherche des passages parallèles et des sources immédiates ou médiates de Julien, le spécialiste de tel ou tel auteur trouvera-t-il à l'occasion quelque petit point de désaccord avec l'auteur. Oserai-je donner un exemple personnel ? Il est dit, p. 297, qu'il est douteux qu'on puisse trouver quelque trace de dépendance de Julien vis-à-vis du *Discours I* de Thémistios. Le rapprochement avec la *Lettre 89* invoqué par Kabiersch est certes peu convaincant. Mais lorsque dans sa *Lettre à Thémistios* Julien cite, en 258 a-d, un long passage des *Lois* (IV, 713 c — 714 a), ce n'est point, je pense, comme il est suggéré p. 192, parce que Julien a découvert ce passage par hasard en se reportant au texte de Platon pour vérifier la citation qu'il vient de faire immédiatement avant celle-ci (*Lois*, IV, 709 bc cité en 257 d-258 a) mais parce que Thémistios, dans son *Discours I* (8 b *φιλάνθρωπον δὲ αὐτὸν* (sc. *τὸν θεόν*) *καλοῦντες οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθα*) avait fait écho à Platon (*Lois* IV, 713 d *ὁ θεὸς ἄρα καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὤν*). Au demeurant, l'autre passage des *Lois* (IV, 709 bc) cité par Julien renvoie, comme l'a bien vu G. Rochefort (apparat critique *ad loc.*), lui aussi à Thémistios (*Disc. XXXIII*, 365 c), parallèle que je ne vois pas relevé ici. Mais toujours à propos de Thémistios, on retrouve aussitôt le jugement sûr de J. Bouffartigue lorsqu'il note, p. 298, que si on lit à la suite les *Eloges de Constance* de Julien et ceux de Thémistios, on est frappé non, comme le voulait Bidez, par leurs ressemblances, mais bien par leurs différences.

Omer BALLÉRIAUX.

ROBINS (R.H.), *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*, (*Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs*, 70), Berlin-New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 1993, ix-278p.

«Lecteur général» : tel est le public auquel s'adresse l'auteur selon son propre aveu. Pourtant, c'est l'initié à une recherche plus profonde qui est son «lecteur préféré». Les besoins de ces «types» de lecteurs dictent les deux principes fondamentaux de l'ouvrage : d'une part, l'intégration de l'objet de recherche (l'œuvre des grammairiens byzantins, inspirée par le «Technē Grammatikē» et étendue environ jusqu'à 1453) dans son contexte socio-culturel et sa jonction

aux théories linguistiques actuelles ; de l'autre, la référence constante aux sources, la présentation d'extraits des textes eux-mêmes (grecs et latins) accompagnés par des traductions soignées, et la critique des commentateurs. Ces deux principes sont en harmonie avec deux objectifs : premièrement, contribuer à relever de l'importance de l'œuvre des grammairiens byzantins au moyen de sa description et de son évaluation ; en second lieu, conduire à une recherche plus exhaustive des sources disponibles.

Les trois premiers chapitres correspondent, à nos yeux, à trois critères essentiels (suggérés implicitement) d'évaluation de l'œuvre des grammairiens byzantins. Le 1er chapitre, consacré au contexte politique au sens large, nous aide à leur attribuer, en tant qu'intellectuels, *«their place in history»*. Comme deuxième critère nous entendons leur rapport à la production littéraire précédente et à celle de leur époque. Enfin le 3ème chapitre étudie le contexte linguistique et ses objectifs ; ces objectifs, surtout pédagogiques, ont inévitablement limité la largeur et la profondeur de leur intérêt. Dans les neufs chapitres suivants, l'auteur s'attache à présenter la partie essentielle de l'œuvre de chaque grammairien et n'hésite pas à discuter les points controversés. Le premier objectif est ainsi accompli. Le deuxième l'est également dans la mesure où des questions plus particulières et plus systématiques trouvent ici un point de départ. Mentionnons comme exemples représentatifs : les méthodes didactiques de la grammaire (*Ἐπιμερισμοὶ* + *Σχεδογραφία*) et leur mise en question déjà à cette époque-là (7ème chapitre) ; la relation de la théorie grammaticale sur les cas de Maximus Planudes avec la *«localist case theory»* (11ème chapitre) ; et les ouvrages de la grammaire comme lieu de la coexistence harmonieuse des éléments chrétiens et helléniques. La volonté de l'auteur d'aboutir à des propositions et non pas à des conclusions sert le même objectif. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas de chapitre/épilogue conclusif. Seulement une sorte de bilan très court à titre d'évaluation globale de l'œuvre des grammairiens byzantins, évaluation conséquente avec les critères donnés.

Despina MAÏ.

The Archaeology of Novgorod, Russia. Recent Results from the Town and its Hinterland. Ed. Mark Brisbane. Lincoln, 1992 (*The Society for Medieval Archaeology*, Monograph Series, n° 13). 240 p., 26 livres.

L'histoire du développement urbain de Novgorod le Grand, du IXe au XVe siècle, est d'une importance capitale pour l'histoire de l'Europe médiévale, et pas seulement pour la Russie. Des fouilles systématiques sont menées à Novgorod depuis plus de 60 ans, sous la direction du prof. A. Artsikhovski, puis de l'académicien V. Ianine. Elles constituent le principal chantier d'archéo-

logie urbaine de Russie et un des plus importants d'Europe, à mettre en parallèle avec les fouilles de Birka (Suède), Wolin (Pologne), Haithabu, Hambourg, Lubeck (Allemagne), Trondheim (Norvège), York (Angleterre), etc.. Les 753 documents privés gravés sur écorce de bouleau, trouvés à ce jour à Novgorod, constituent une source exceptionnelle d'information sur la vie sociale et politique à Novgorod du XIe au XVe s.

La bibliographie sur l'archéologie novgorodienne est déjà très considérable, comportant des centaines de livres, recueils et articles, surtout en russe, mais aussi en anglais, allemand, norvégien, et, dans une moindre mesure, en français. Il manquait cependant une synthèse récente en langue occidentale consacrée aux découvertes de ces dernières années et faisant le point sur les recherches et hypothèses actuelles (l'ouvrage de Thomson datant d'il y a plus de 20 ans).

Des archéologues anglais ont essayé de faire le point en demandant aux spécialistes russes de l'archéologie novgorodienne des contributions réunies dans un volume bien venu et bienvenu, illustré de schémas, de photos et de dessins de trouvailles de ces dernières années. On y trouvera, bien entendu, les noms de V. Ianine, A. Khorochev, E. Nosov, E. Rybina, P. Gaïdoukov, A. Sorokine et quelques autres.

Les origines, si controversées, de la ville y sont discutées en détail, le rôle fondamental de Gorodichtche, les rapports avec les Finno-Ougriens et Scandinaves, la production artisanale, la propriété terrienne, le rôle des boïars, les arts appliqués, le développement des divers quartiers (Nerevski, Lioudin, etc.), les techniques de construction, les matériaux, le commerce, sont systématiquement passés en revue. La plupart des documents reproduits étaient encore inédits en Occident.

Ce travail est une contribution appréciable à l'étude de l'archéologie urbaine et de l'historiographie des documents sur écorce de bouleau et il faut féliciter les éditeurs d'avoir pris sur eux cette tâche. Il faut cependant regretter, en même temps, la hâte avec laquelle la traduction a été effectuée et qui se décèle un peu trop souvent à travers certaines maladresses, voire dans des contresens (comme p. 70, *Sofia side*, au lieu de Ste Sophia...). Plusieurs fautes d'impression ont échappé à la vigilance des correcteurs.

D'autre part, dans la mesure où la contribution de V.Ianine est la traduction d'un article qui avait paru en russe dans *Voprosy Istorii*, 1992, n° 10, on se demande pourquoi plusieurs paragraphes ont été abrégés, sans que ceci ne soit indiqué, et sans qu'on en saisisse vraiment l'utilité.

De toute façon, un livre passionnant pour celui qui aime l'histoire et les arts.

Jean BLANKOFF.

CHRONIQUE

Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge, 39 (1991), in 4°, 190 p., ill.

Ce volume s'ouvre par une notice de Tania Velmans sur André Grabar, décédé en octobre 1990, avec une belle photographie de notre grand Maître dans son bureau du Collège de France.

Françoise MONFRIN, *A propos de Milan chrétien. Siège épiscopal et topographie chrétienne IVe-VIe siècles* (p. 7-46, 28 fig. en majorité cartes et croquis). Dans la suite de l'exposition «Milano capitale del'Impero Romano (286-402 d.C.)», tenue à Milan en 1990, l'Auteur propose un état des questions, surtout pour celles qui demeurent en suspens, afin de mettre les données «en juste perspective». La richesse de la documentation est en effet fonction de la gloire de quelques moments privilégiés. Sont considérées la christianisation de la ville (légendes de la fondation et liste épiscopale) et l'organisation de la vie religieuse avec l'étude des monuments et leur implantation topographique. Grâce à l'utilisation approfondie et dépourvue de parti-pris des sources et à une remarquable étude des monuments, disparus, modifiés et encore conservés, et quoique tous les problèmes ne puissent être résolus, une vision beaucoup plus juste de l'importance de Milan à cette époque cruciale pour la ville et le Nord de l'Italie s'en dégage. Nous ajouterons à l'abondante bibliographie l'ouvrage tout récent de C. ALZATI, *Ambrosiana ecclesia. Studi su la chiesa milanese e l'ecumene cristiana fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo*, Milan 1993.

Magdalena STOYANOVA-CUCCO, *Über den Kult des Täufers in Georgien* (p. 47-50, 1 fig.). L'Auteur a consacré une thèse au *Cycle de la vie de saint Jean-Baptiste dans l'Orient chrétien* (I, Venise 1990) dans laquelle elle a considéré près de quatre-vingt-dix ensembles de fresques et d'icones, du VIIe au XVIIIe siècle. Dans ce bref article, elle souligne que le Baptiste, qui se rencontre certes en Géorgie dans le thème très populaire de la Déisis ainsi que dans le Baptême du Christ, n'a pas fait l'objet d'un culte local ; les fresques et icones où il apparaît sont plutôt d'influence byzantine. Elle se livre à une comparaison avec le thème de St Georges, au contraire très répandu en Géorgie, avec des références à des sources païennes.

Henri LAVAGNE, *Le triomphe de Constantin. Documents inédits sur la mosaïque médiévale de Riez (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence)* (p. 51-62, 3 fig.). Cette représentation dans l'église Saint-Maxime à Riez (détruite en 1596) est mentionnée avec son inscription par des érudits du XVIIe siècle, dont Peiresc ; les documents indiquent un Baptême de Constantin, affligé de la lèpre, par le pape Sylvestre, mais sans permettre jusqu'ici une reconstitution sûre. Des documents nouveaux établissent qu'il s'agit bien d'une mosaïque de pavement et datant du XIIe siècle, comme l'Auteur l'avait déjà proposé ; il avait rattaché ce sujet aux péripéties de la Querelle du Sacerdoce et de l'Empire, dont les protagonistes furent Frédéric Barberousse et Alexandre III. Ces documents sont des passages des *Mémoires historiques* de l'érudit provençal Jean de Nostredame († 1577), de Jules-Raymond de Soliers et surtout des notes d'Honorat Rey d'après un *Recueil* de poésies du XVIe siècle. Suivent une étude historique, notamment sur base de la «Donation de Constantin», et des comparaisons avec des représentations contemporaines. Le sens politique d'une telle image et dans un tel contexte permet de l'attribuer à l'évêque de Riez Hughes de Montlaur, à son retour du concile du Latran en 1178.

Carol HEITZ, *La cathédrale de Cologne de l'époque paléochrétienne à l'époque carolingienne* (p. 63-78, 20 fig.). La cathédrale carolingiennne de Cologne fut détruite lors du grand incendie de 1248. Les fouilles entreprises dès 1946 sous l'actuelle église gothique, après les destructions de la guerre, ont permis d'en proposer une reconstitution, ainsi que des édifices antérieurs des époques paléochrétienne, franque et précarolingienne. Cet exposé est assorti d'une série de plans très parlants (on remarquera, jusqu'au VIe siècle, la présence d'un passage, *solea* en grec, entre le chœur auquel devrait être réservé le terme *bêma* et la plate-forme circulaire, sans doute de l'ambon, une disposition qui se rencontre à Constantinople). La cathédrale carolingienne, qu'il faut attribuer à l'épiscopat de Héribert (999-1021), fait l'objet d'un examen détaillé en tenant compte de diverses hypothèses. Cet article a ainsi l'avantage de dresser un tableau clair et jusqu'à présent complet d'un des plus importants ensembles architecturaux du haut moyen âge.

Mira FRIEDMAN, *The Angelic Creation of Man* (p. 79-94, 18 fig.). Le grand Psautier de Canterbury (B.N. *ms.lat.8846*) montre au fol. 166 une exceptionnelle représentation de la création de l'homme, où un ange façonne un être informe qui est achevé par Dieu ; elle se trouve dans la deuxième partie du manuscrit, du XIVe siècle et probablement de Catalogne. Le modelage et l'animation d'Adam par Dieu sont plusieurs fois représentés en deux phases dans l'art médiéval, et un ange peut y apparaître mais son action est très rare. On la trouve dans un manuscrit juif, également du XIVe siècle et sans doute de Catalogne, le *Haggadah* de Sarajevo (Musée national, fol. 2), où Adam est montré déjà formé entre huit anges (sans représentation de Dieu, mais l'idée est la même). Or, ce thème n'est conforme ni au texte biblique ni au concept, tant

juif que chrétien, de l'homme créé par Dieu. Dans la première partie du Psautier de Canterbury, exécutée en Angleterre à la fin du XIIe siècle, la création d'Ève montre un ange présentant à Dieu un bloc d'argile et donc prenant part à cette création. L'Auteur examine une série d'œuvres où interviennent des anges dans le cycle de la Création et les met en relation avec des légendes juives, ce qui éclaire cette iconographie d'un jour nouveau. Leur caractère hérétique explique leur rareté.

Patrick DONABÉDIAN, *Le point sur l'architecte arménien Trdat-Tiridate à l'occasion du millénaire de son œuvre* (p. 95-110, 19 fig.). L'architecte Tiridate, un des trois grands architectes arméniens du moyen âge et le plus connu, vécut et travailla dans la région d'Ani à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle. Le témoignage de l'*Histoire universelle* d'Étienne Asolik de Taron, un contemporain, concerne l'église du catholicossat d'Argina, la restauration de la coupole de Sainte-Sophie à la suite du tremblement de terre de 989, et la construction de la cathédrale Saint-Grégoire, la plus grande église d'Ani. L'Auteur examine d'abord les œuvres certaines de Tiridate, les deux églises d'Argina et d'Ani auxquelles il faut joindre le Saint-Grégoire du roi Gagik à Ani, en les caractérisant de manière détaillée et en soulignant les apports nouveaux, techniques et stylistiques. Quant à la partie ouest de la coupole de Sainte-Sophie, il estime raisonnablement que la participation de Tiridate s'est limitée à la conception du projet, à la fabrication du modèle et au commencement de la reconstruction (Tiridate n'avait pas été mandé à Constantinople mais il s'y trouvait pour un court temps). Les autres œuvres attribuées à l'architecte arménien sont nombreuses ; cependant seule l'église principale de Halbat semble être de lui. Cet article fait bien le point sur ce qui est connu et sur les hypothèses émises.

Vincent JUHEL, *Le bain de l'Enfant-Jésus. Des origines à la fin du douzième siècle* (p. 111-132, 32 fig.). L'Auteur, qui avait regroupé 350 Bains de l'Enfant dans un mémoire de maîtrise antérieur, en propose ici les origines et les représentations jusqu'au XIIe siècle dans le monde byzantin, en Italie et en France, dans un ordre et suivant une chronologie qui ne sont pas toujours rigoureux. Le Bain serait lié à l'épisode de la main desséchée de Salomé, mais c'est la mention des sages-femmes qui a facilité l'introduction de ce motif d'origine antique dans les Nativités chrétiennes (comme je l'avais déjà indiqué dans *Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ* [P. UNDERWOOD, Ed., *The Kariye Djami*, IV. *Studies...*, Princeton, 1975, p. 211-213] ; plusieurs documents dont il est fait état avaient été reproduits ou cités dans mon *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, Bruxelles, 2 vol., 1964-65, réimpression avec compléments, 1992). On ressent un manque de familiarité avec les œuvres byzantines (à propos de la Cappadoce, la date de certains documents est sujette à discussion, et on s'étonnera de ne pas voir cité le monumental ouvrage de G. DE JERPHANION, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925-42). Les œuvres italiennes sont traitées rapidement.

La France est le mieux représentée et fournit une documentation plus nouvelle, dont la diversité est bien soulignée.

Heide und Helmut BUSCHHAUSEN, *Kopien des Vani-Evangeliars. Byzantinischer Kunstexport und Kopistentum in der Buchmalerei der späten Komnenenzeit* (p. 133-152, 26 fig.). Il est rare que l'on puisse suivre les copies d'une œuvre et les mutations intervenues au départ d'un archétype. Trois manuscrits du groupe byzantino-géorgien en offrent un exemple exceptionnel. Le tétraévangile provenant de Vani (Institut des manuscrits de Tbilisi *A-1335*) possède plusieurs miniatures dont les quatre tables de concordance et les quatre portraits d'évangélistes sont particulièrement intéressants du point de vue considéré. Les canons offrent une grand richesse ornementale et végétale et des motifs animaliers et humains, notamment des personnifications de mois au sommet et à la base des colonnes nouées. Le texte est en géorgien mais nombre de figurines sont accompagnées d'inscriptions grecques et sont dues à Michel Koresis (le répertoire est habituel à Constantinople au XIIe siècle). Toutes les miniatures sont énumérées — notons que des quatre illustrations dans l'ouvrage d'Amiranašvili cité n. 6, trois sont en couleur. Les portraits des évangélistes sont surmontés, sous un arc, d'une scène christologique en relation avec l'évangile. Les colophons, qui vont jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle, permettent de suivre la vie du manuscrit ; l'original se trouvait à la bibliothèque du monastère d'Iviron ; le scribe dit aussi avoir écrit ce manuscrit à Constantinople pour la reine Thamar(† 1213). Des illustrations du manuscrit de Vani ont été fidèlement reproduites dans l'évangéliaire d'Artvini (Matenadaran, *cod. 161*), où toutefois les arcs surmontant les évangélistes sont laissés vides. Dans l'évangéliaire de Lapskald, les portraits des évangélistes sont inspirés du *cod.25* de Pantéléimon, mais d'autres motifs s'inspirent de celui de Vani. Ce dernier est le plus ancien, suivi de celui d'Artvini et de celui de Lapskald (1224-45). Cet article fait également intervenir les reliure et cassette des manuscrits.

Doula MOURIKI, *Variants of the Hodegetria on two thirteenth-century Sinai Icons* (p. 153-182, 33 fig.). Cet article est dédié à la mémoire d'André Grabar, ce qui apparaît d'autant plus touchant que l'excellente historienne de l'art grecque est elle-même décédée entretemps. Elle traite ici d'un sujet pour lequel elle avait une compétence particulière, à la suite de ses importantes études sur les icones du Sinaï et de Chypre, dans le contexte des échanges entre les artistes byzantins et latins en Méditerranée orientale au XIIIe siècle. Une popularité considérable des représentations de la Vierge à l'Enfant se manifeste à l'époque, avec nombre de variantes par rapport aux types traditionnels, dont le mieux représenté est toujours celui de l'Hodigitria. Après avoir retracé l'histoire de la fameuse icone constantinopolitaine et l'évolution du type iconographique, l'Auteur considère deux icones du monastère du Sinaï présentant des variantes différentes. La première, du premier quart du XIIIe siècle, est

comparée à des icones de Chypre, aux fresques de Studenica et à d'autres œuvres de cette époque marquant la fin de l'art comnène. La seconde – une Dexiokratousa – est d'une manière protopaléologue, les gestes, les positions et les expressions correspondant à une tendance à l'humanisation rencontrée tant en Occident qu'en Orient et sans doute inspirée d'images narratives.

Tania VELMANS et Henri LAVAGNE, *Notes de lecture* (p. 183-185).

Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge, 40 (1992), in 4°, 192 p., ill. Prix : 390 FF.

François BARATTE, *Vaisselle d'argent, souvenirs littéraires et manières de table : l'exemple des cuillers de Lampsaque* (p. 520, 15 fig.). L'article concerne les cuillers du petit trésor d'argenterie de Lapsaki (Turquie), conservé au British Museum, et deux cuillers du Louvre qui le complètent. Par leur typologie et par leurs inscriptions et monogrammes, elles relèvent de deux groupes, religieux et profane. Des sept cuillers de ce dernier groupe, cinq ont des inscriptions en grec et deux en latin et grec, qui sont des citations littéraires. Les textes grecs sont des maximes attribuées aux Sept Sages de la Grèce, une tradition liée au symposium qui était encore bien connue à l'époque protobyzantine ; les inscriptions latines sont tirées de Virgile. Une recherche fouillée dans les textes et les œuvres, antiques et contemporaines, met en relation ces objets notamment avec le *Satiricon* de Pétrone. Les cuillers de Lampsaque indiquent un retour aux manières de faire pratiquées au Ier siècle et aux conversations des convives.

Gilber-Robert DELAHAYE, *Les sarcophages de plâtre exhumés autour des cryptes de Jouarre (Seine-et-Marne)* (p. 21-34, 25 plans et dessins). Les cryptes de Jouarre, sans doute fondées en 670-675 par Agilbert, évêque de Paris, ont révélé de nombreux sarcophages mérovingiens, les uns importés, en pierre, les autres locaux, en plâtre. Après une mise au point sur l'église et ses cryptes, et l'exposé des travaux entrepris depuis 1978, l'Auteur étudie les sarcophages en plâtre, leur situation, leur morphologie et leur décor — où l'on relèvera un unique chrisme. D'intéressantes conclusions s'en dégagent sur le plan de la fonction de cette église funéraire, liée au mausolée de la famille fondatrice, et de l'atelier de tombeaux qui a agi sous la tutelle de l'abbaye. Il s'agit bien d'une «nécropole riche en sarcophages» comme il y en eut dans les bourgades antiques assez vigoureuses pour justifier la création d'un lieu de culte chrétien après les invasions germaniques.

Patrick PÉRIN, *A propos des vases de bronze «coptes» du VIIe siècle en Europe de l'Ouest : le pichet de Bardonville (Seine-Maritime)* (p. 35-50, 7 fig.). Il s'agit d'un pichet en bronze moulé d'une pièce, d'un type répandu en Europe, surtout centrale et de l'Ouest, mais exceptionnel en Gaule ; trouvé dans la Seine près de Rouen, il fut acquis en 1989 par les Musées départementaux

de la Seine-Maritime et y fut analysé. Les objets de ce type ont été considérés comme originaires de la Méditerranée orientale. D'un long historique de la question, il ressort que J. Werner, qui avait établi leur répartition et leur datation, estima d'abord qu'il s'agissait d'imitations de pièces égyptiennes pour l'Europe de l'Ouest, par des ateliers italo-byzantins, puis, ainsi que d'autres, d'objets égyptiens. J. Schwarz récusa cette thèse, optant pour l'origine byzantine, de même que H. Darnheimer ; M. C. Caretta opposa de nettes réserves à l'appellation «copte» ; c'est également l'avis, qui me paraît justifié, de Mme Benazeth repris en n. 20. La discussion qui suit démontre la difficulté de regrouper valablement et de déterminer l'origine de pièces largement réparties, liée aussi aux variations géographiques des coutumes funéraires. L'étude attentive du pichet de Bardonville, dont la teneur en plomb est très forte, démontrerait son exécution européenne, quoique le modèle puisse être byzantin, et le fait que la Seine constituait toujours, comme dans l'antiquité, une voie commerciale vers le sud de l'Angleterre.

Piotr Skubiszewski, *Le trumeau et le linteau de Moissac : un cas de symbolisme médiéval* (p. 51-90, 47 fig.). Le trumeau et le linteau supportant le tympan du portail sud de l'ancienne abbatiale Saint-Pierre constituent un tout, en dépit de l'utilisation de remplois. Les rosaces du linteau, qui s'inspirent d'un ornement tardo-antique (dalle de Thézels) ont été conçues comme un élément décoratif majeur. Elles se poursuivent sur le trumeau, entre les paires de lions superposées ; à ce décor végétal et animalier s'ajoutent les figures de Jérémie et Isaïe et de Pierre et Paul représentant l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament sur les faces latérales. Linteau et trumeau forment une lettre T (TAU ou TAV) dont les significations religieuses sont rappelées, notamment le sceau des Élus et, associée à la végétation, la croix de vie. Le développement du motif des rosaces sur la face entière semble inspiré par certaines croix byzantines. Le nombre de six rosaces est lié aux six jours de la création et la croix de vie à une structure artistique remontant à l'Orient antique. Il ressort d'une longue et pénétrante investigation que le thème de la croix dissimulée derrière le TAU fleuri constitue la signification symbolique primordiale du linteau et du trumeau de Moissac ; il sert de support à l'image du Christ du tympan, une association connue dans d'autres techniques que la sculpture. La croix est attaquée par deux bêtes monstrueuses, ce qui relève du thème des végétaux ravagés par des animaux et aussi des arbres protégeant l'homme des bêtes (Péridexion). L'Auteur récuse toute interprétation christologique des lions. Les trois paires de mâles et de femelles agrémentant la hampe du TAU à Moissac remontent aussi aux mythologies orientales, liées à des considérations astrologiques. Leur nombre évoque ici la création, et peut-être la procréation. Le portail associe donc une image biblique et un décor symbolique universel, en un parfait équilibre sémantique. Les textes médiévaux parlent peu des motifs symboliques et du sens qui leur était attribué, un domaine où les légendes orales non conservées ont dû jouer leur rôle.

Yves CHRISTE, *Aux origines de l'Hexaéméron des Bibles Moralisées : le cycle de la création de la cathédrale de Laon* (p. 91-98, 8 fig.). La seconde voussure de la fenêtre sud de la façade ouest de Notre-Dame de Laon (vers 1200) présente, sur dix claveaux, un cycle de la création qui n'a pas encore été décrit ni interprété correctement. Chaque élément est décrit en tenant compte des réfections modernes et des parties manquantes. Cette Création débouche sur une Seconde Parousie, sur une Résurrection des morts, la glorification de deux élus et la défaite de Léviathan. Cette image inhabituelle se retrouve dans certaines Bibles Moralisées, dont des images littérales et des images glosées sont présentées en alternance. Le cycle de Laon est en fait réduit à l'Hexaéméron (*Genèse* I, 12,4).

Natalia TETERIATNIKOV, *The Frescoes of the Chapel of St. Basil in Cappadocia : Their Date and Context Reconsidered* (p. 99-114, 16 fig.). Cette chapelle rupestre proche de Ortahisar est considérée comme la plus importante du groupe à peintures du type iconoclaste. Plusieurs spécialistes (dont G. de Jerphanion, N. Thierry et moi-même) l'estiment iconoclaste, mais l'Auteur y voit d'emblée (dans la suite, semble-t-il, d'A. Wharton Epstein) une œuvre de la période immédiatement posticonoclaste. Jugeant que l'inscription n'est pas tout à fait probante, elle compare certains traits architecturaux, comme les arcades, les motifs iconographiques consistant en croix ornées et en éléments géométrisés, et le style, à d'autres chapelles qui ne sont pas davantage datées avec précision. On sait du reste qu'il fallut un certain temps avant que les figurations ne redeviennent habituelles. Le représentation de deux évêques à Hagios Vasilios ne contredit pas une exécution des peintures à l'époque iconoclaste, les consignes étant surtout radicales en ce qui concerne le Christ et la Vierge (mon article des *D.O.P.* 41, qui est cité à la n. 3, ne semble pas avoir été utilisé, non plus que le témoignage de Hagia Kyriaki à Naxos). Cet article ne manque certes pas d'intérêt, par l'étude approfondie de certains détails, mais sa conclusion n'emporte pas l'adhésion.

Paul M. MYLONAS, *Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide* (p. 115-122, 4 fig.). A la suite de son étude parue dans les *C.A.* 38, l'Auteur présente ici une synthèse des résultats auxquels il est arrivé par l'analyse structurale du complexe et la mise en relation avec la *Vita*. D'après ce texte, il existait au xe siècle deux édifices, l'église Sainte-Barbe (946) et l'*evktirion* cruciforme élevé sur le tombeau du saint en 960-65. La première fut remplacée vers 1000 par l'actuelle Théotokos (Panagia), qui fut pourvue d'une *liti*, l'espace L (*larnax*) raccordant les deux édifices. La translation des reliques a eu lieu en 1011 et l'actuel katholikon, qui engloba l'*evktirion*, fut construit postérieurement. Toute cette démonstration emporte parfaitement l'adhésion. Je ne crois pas pour ma part à une intervention de Constantin IX Monomaque, supposée par certains, car le style des mosaïques s'y oppose. A cet égard, la position de D. Mouriki (*Stylistic Trends in monumental*

Painting of Greece..., *D.O.P.* 34-35, 1980-81, 1982, p. 77-124, cf. p. 81-88) qui attribue le katholikon et ses mosaïques à l'époque de Théodose Léovachos, dans les années 1030, avant les mosaïques de Sainte-Sophie de Kiev, me paraît la plus acceptable.

Konstantin TOTEV, *Icônes et croix de stéatite de Tărnovo (Tarnovgrad)* (p. 123-138, 21 fig.). Les fouilles effectuées à Tărnovo ont révélé de nombreux objets d'importation byzantine des XIe et XIIe siècles ou, plus tardivement, exécutés suivant des modèles byzantins. Parmi ceux-ci, les stéatites sont particulièrement nombreuses, plaques représentant des saints surtout militaires, dont quatre seulement ont été intégrées dans le *corpus* de I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 2 vol., Vienne, 1985), et petites croix, ce qui était moins connu. Cet article fait bien le point sur les caractéristiques iconographiques et techniques, étude à la fois interne des pièces trouvées sur place mais largement ouverte à des comparaisons avec celles d'autres musées. Il souligne, une fois de plus, l'intérêt des fouilles menées en Bulgarie.

Jannic DURAND, *La Vraie Croix de la princesse Palatine au trésor de Notre-Dame de Paris : observations techniques* (p. 139-146, 13 fig.). Cette croix provient de l'ancienne abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés à qui elle avait été léguée en 1683 par Anne de Gonzague de Clèves, princesse Palatine ; elle venait du trésor des princes de Galicie à Lvov dont s'était emparé le roi polonais Casimir en 1340. A double traverse et en lames d'or sur bois, elle est la seule dans les collections publiques françaises à porter une inscription dédicatoire de souverain (pour des croix sortant d'ateliers impériaux, voir mon article sur *L'art byzantin en Belgique en relation avec les croisades, R.B.A.H.A.*, LVI, 1987, p. 13-47, p. 33-36). Il s'agit d'un Manuel Comnène en qui il faut voir non l'empereur Manuel Ier du XIIe siècle mais bien le souverain homonyme de Trébizonde (1238-63). L'Auteur étudie surtout la technique de la pièce, apportant des éléments nouveaux précis. Ainsi, le caractère opaque des émaux (très partiellement conservés dans les dépressions du revers) indique un atelier provincial ou périphérique du XIIIe siècle, ce qui permettrait aussi d'expliquer le caractère un peu hésitant de la graphie. La pièce est reprise dans le catalogue *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris, 1992, n° 340.

Elisabeth TABURET-DELAHAYE, *Le pied de croix du trésor de Conques* (p. 147-160, 24 fig.). Quoique le trésor de l'abbatiale de Conques soit bien connu, il peut encore «réserver des surprises». Le pied d'un ostensoir — souvent placé dans sa totalité au XVe siècle — est différent à la fois par la date et la technique, ce qu'A. Darcel avait déjà reconnu au XIXe siècle. L'Auteur souligne que, si les pièces du haut moyen âge du trésor sont les plus importantes, l'orfèvrerie gothique y est aussi bien représentée. Le pied, en argent doré, qui pouvait porter à l'origine un reliquaire ou une croix, a une base quadrilobée à quatre arcs en accolade sur quatre lionceaux. Les comparaisons

formelles le placent à la fin du XIIIe ou au début du XIVe siècle. Quant aux gravures, à faible relief sur fond guilloché, représentant la Flagellation, la Résurrection, la Descente aux Limbes et le Jugement dernier, elles sont rapprochées non seulement d'orfèvreries et de sculptures mais aussi de miniatures de même époque. D'une excellente qualité, cette œuvre peut être attribuée à l'époque de Philippe le Bel.

Jenny ALBANI, *The painted Decoration of the Cupola of the western Gallery in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Leondari* (p. 161-180, 17 fig.). Cette église de Léondari, dans le centre du Péloponnèse, reproduit une architecture typique de Mistra, avec une structure en croix et à coupole surmontant une basilique à trois nefs, ainsi qu'un narthex à coupole, un type qui peut être placé au XIVe siècle. Les fresques originales sont imparfaitement conservées. Après une description de l'architecture et du programme d'ensemble des fresques, surtout visibles dans le narthex, l'Auteur analyse le décor de la coupole (on pourrait remarquer que les scènes de l'Enfance de la Vierge existant dans le narthex indiquent qu'il y avait là un cycle). La coupole côtelée est occupée par un buste de la Blachernitissa entouré d'une inscription se référant à l'Incarnation. Les douze segments sont occupés par deux registres de figures, divers ordres d'anges et prophètes. Des lacunes peuvent être comblées grâce aux décors de l'Afendiko et de la Péribleptos de Mistra. Chaque sujet est soigneusement décrit et étudié, de même que les caractères stylistiques. À propos des couleurs froides, on pourrait citer Calendžicha, cf. A. ALPAGO-NOVELLO - V. BERIDZE - J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE e.a., *Art and Architecture in medieval Georgia*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980, p. 100-101 et fig. 141 (en coul.). Ces fresques, dont la qualité artistique n'est pas supérieure, se placent bien dans le courant de la peinture paléologue de la fin du XIVe siècle.

Notes de lectures par Tania VELMANS, Jean-Pierre CAILLET, Zaga GAVRILOVIĆ et Elisabeth TABURET-DELAHAYE (p. 181-190, 2 fig.).

Jacqueline LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES (*)

1. L. TARTAGLIA, *Teodoro II Duca Lascari. Satira del pedagogo (Università degli Studi della Calabria. Dipartimento di Filologia)*, Naples, 1992, pp. 57.

Édition critique et traduction italienne d'une satire rédigée par Théodore II Lascaris, empereur de Nicée, pour son maître d'école. Il est possible que la personne visée soit Christophe Zavariotès et que la pièce ait été rédigée après 1244, bien que couvrant une période plus ancienne.

L'historien regrettera l'absence de commentaires historiques et une présentation plus détaillée de Théodore Lascaris en tant qu'écrivain.

(P. Y.)

2. Aneta ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262). Socio-cultural Interaction Between the Franks and the Local Population (Historical Monographs 9)*, Athènes, 1991, pp. 309.

Nouvelle approche de l'histoire du Péloponnèse durant l'occupation franque, qui ne tient pas compte des faits historiques, mais des interactions socio-culturelles entre occupants et occupés. Avant l'occupation francque, la capitale administrait la province par l'intermédiaire des fonctionnaires nommés par l'empereur parmi les aristocrates costantinopolitains, ce qui laissait peu de place aux personnes originaires de la région. Le système traditionnel byzantin ne favorisait pas la création de vrais centres urbains ; ceux que les textes appellent «villes» étaient en réalité des places fortifiées. Le droit absolu de l'administration centrale de défendre la région, n'a pas favorisé le développement d'un «nationalisme» ; cela explique comment un détachement de 1000 hommes a pu conquérir le Péloponnèse. La tentative de Léon Sgouros de faire face aux Francs ne contredit pas cette conclusion, car elle entre parfaitement dans la ligne de la logique byzantine.

Les installations des Francs dans le Péloponnèse n'étaient pas importantes et elles se localisent surtout dans les villes. Les populations ont rarement résisté aux occupants. Les riches ont préféré collaborer avec les nouvelles autorités,

(*) Abréviation : J. M. = Justin MOSSAY ; P. Y. = Panayotis YANNOPOULOS.

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tandis que la noblesse locale a trouvé sa place dans le système chevaleresque. Une résistance très faible a été manifestée par les agents de l'administration byzantine et le clergé supérieur. La masse est restée indifférente. Le système de la propriété féodale n'a pas non plus changé le sort des villageois, toujours frappés par les mêmes taxes. La grande nouveauté consiste dans l'impulsion donnée aux activités commerciales qui sont à la base de la création de vraies villes, dont les populations s'opposent à celles des villages dans de multiples domaines. L'administration et la défense de la Morée n'étant plus dépendantes d'aucun centre extérieur ont été confiées aux gens de la région créant ainsi un sentiment «national». Par contre, ni l'Église catholique, ni la langue française n'ont connu de suites. Le catholicisme n'a pas converti les populations locales, tandis que la langue grecque a gagné les Francs.

Cette étude, qui jette un nouveau regard sur la période franque de l'histoire péloponnésienne, est intéressante, mais elle ne peut pas, toute seule, expliquer l'évolution de la situation et le retour de Byzance à son ancienne province. Le recours aux sources s'avère une méthode beaucoup plus sûre pour la connaissance du passé.

(P. Y.)

3. Elefteria PAPAGIANNI, *Ἡ νομολογία τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς περιόδου σὲ θέματα περιουσιακοῦ δικαίου. I : Ἐνοχικὸ δίκαιο - Ἐμπράγματο δίκαιο* (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Athener Reihe*, 6), Athènes, 1992, pp. 302.

Étude fondamentale et très technique, spécialisée dans le domaine du droit byzantin de propriété. Les instances judiciaires considérées sont les tribunaux ecclésiastiques, qui pendant cette période traitaient presque toutes les questions relatives à la propriété. Sont examinées successivement les notions de la culpabilité en droit du propriétaire, les transactions immobilières, les prestations des services et la constitution d'associations. Dans une seconde partie est analysé le droit de la possession et sont examinés les principes de l'usufruit, de la nue propriété, les assurances et les services. Ces aspects sont considérés dans le cadre d'un état de droit créé en application d'une législation précédente.

Sans doute, la lecture d'un tel travail est difficile et aride pour un lecteur qui n'est pas initié au langage et à la terminologie juridiques. C'est à l'auteur d'essayer de rendre compréhensible aux historiens une telle étude. L'historien remarquera que le titre ne correspond pas au contenu, puisque seule la dernière phase de l'histoire byzantine (après le XIVe s.) et la période post-byzantine sont envisagées. Il peut encore objecter que cette période est marquée par l'affaiblissement du pouvoir central qui a permis aux tribunaux ecclésiastiques de traiter les affaires civiles. On se demande toujours si la situation était la même avant l'an mil, quand le pouvoir central était vraiment fort.

(P. Y.)

4. B. MANDILARAS, *The Byzantine Papyri of the Greek Papyrological Society (P. Sta. Xyla)*, vol. I, Athènes, 1993, pp. 204.

La *Société grecque de Papyrologie* dispose d'une collection importante de papyri, dont 21 sont édités dans ce volume ; ils proviennent tous de la *Collection Stamata Xyla*. Les pièces éditées sont toutes d'origine égyptienne et sont datées du IVe s. au milieu du VIe s. Elles contiennent des contrats privés, des quittances, des lettres privées, des reconnaissances de dettes, des documents attestant la perception des impôts en nature ou des pétitions.

Ces documents, inédits jusqu'à présent, ne contiennent certes pas d'informations susceptibles de modifier nos connaissances historiques concernant l'Égypte byzantine. Toutefois, il s'agit de nouvelles sources et de ce fait leur édition constitue un événement majeur pour les byzantinistes.

L'édition et les commentaires, répondent aux exigences de la critique philologique et historique. La compétence de l'auteur en la matière constitue la meilleure garantie d'une bonne édition.

(P. Y.)

5. *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 3, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. x + 254.

Le 9 août 1991, dans le cadre du XVIIIe Colloque International des Études Byzantines, tenu à Moscou, a eu lieu le IIIe Colloque de la Sigillographie Byzantine, dont certaines communications sont publiées dans ce volume. La publication est complétée par une *Listes des sceaux publiés entre 1986 et 1991/2* (pp. 143-208) et des *Index* (pp. 209-254). Parmi les communications, celles de I. BARNEA, *Sceaux byzantins inédits de Dobroudja* (pp. 55-57), de I. JORDANOV, *Unpublished Byzantine Seals from the Village of Zlati Voyvoda* (pp. 69-84), de L. MAKSIMOVIC et M. POPOVIC, *Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie* (pp. 85-98), sont archéologiques ; elles sont intéressantes dans la mesure où elles présentent de nouvelles sources. La communication de Cécile MORRISSON, Maria GUERRA et J.-N. BARRANDON, *Premières analyses de plombs byzantins : Perspectives et impasses des recherches sur leur composition métallique* (pp. 1-17), n'aboutit à aucune conclusion. Intéressante, pour la lecture des monogrammes, la communication de W. SEIBT, *Zur Problematik byzantinischer Monogrammsiegel* (pp. 19-28), et celle d'Elena STEPANOVA, *Seals with Latin Inscriptions in the Hermitage Collection* (pp. 29-39), présente l'énorme collection de l'Ermitage ; elle prouve que les sceaux en latin étaient courants dans les régions latinophones de l'empire jusqu'au VIIIe s. Finalement la communication d'I. LEONTIADES, *Die Siegel der Familie Tarchaneiotes* (pp. 41-54), retrace l'histoire d'une grande famille byzantine grâce aux sceaux datés entre le Xe et le XIIIe s.

(P. Y.)

6. C. Tsopros, *Ἀναμνήσεις (Μελένοικο-Θεσσαλονίκη)* (*Institute for Balkan Studies*, 238), Thessalonique, 1992, pp. 125.

Mémoires de l'avocat Constantin Tsopros (1885-1966), se référant à la région de Serres et à la ville de Thessalonique. L'auteur fait état (p. 36) d'objets byzantins actuellement perdus, conservés jadis dans les collections privées, et aussi (p. 24) des constructions byzantines actuellement détruites partiellement ou totalement. De ce fait, le livre peut être intéressant pour les byzantinistes.

(P. Y.)

7. C. Papoulidis, *Ο Ελληνικός κόσμος του Αντωνίνου Kapustin (1817-1894)* (*Institute for Balkan Studies*, 248), Thessalonique, 1993, pp. 199.

Biographie de l'*archimandrite* russe A. Kapustin à qui on doit les premiers catalogues des manuscrits conservés dans le couvent du S. Sépulcre de Constantinople, le monastère de S. Sabbas en Palestine et le monastère du Mont Sinaï. Les pp. 123-132 reprennent les manuscrits appartenant à A. Kapustin avec une courte mention de leur contenu, une indication concernant leur date ainsi que l'endroit où ces manuscrits se trouvent maintenant. Puisque plusieurs de ces manuscrits intéressent les byzantinistes, ce livre peut rendre de grands services.

(P. Y.)

8. K. Förstel, *Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialoge mit einem Muslim. Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe* (*Corpus Islamo-christianum. Series Graecae*, 4), Würzburg, 1993, pp. xxxiii + 378.

C'est un volume sur l'empereur et écrivain Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425, empereur depuis 1391). L'ouvrage consacre une brève introduction biographique à Manuel et à sa production littéraire. Ensuite dans des paragraphes succincts et denses, l'éditeur donne un aperçu du texte et met l'accent sur la littérature chrétienne à caractère polémique qui visait l'Islam.

L'édition du *Dialogue avec un Musulman*, assortie d'une traduction en allemand, est faite à partir de deux manuscrits connus : l'*Ambrosianus gr. L74 sup.* et le *Parisinus gr. 1253*, si proches l'un de l'autre que la dizaine de variantes sont mentionnées à la p. xxxiii. L'édition n'améliore pas substantiellement les éditions précédentes faites à partir du seul *Paris. gr.* 1253.

(P. Y.)

9. *ERYTHEIA. Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos*, 14 (1993), pp. 199.

Édition périodique des byzantinistes et des néohellénistes espagnols. Parmi les articles contenus dans le n° 14, celui d'A. Avenarius, *Beginnings of Russian Monasticism : The Problem of Byzantine and Non-byzantine Influences*,

pp. 5-8, porte sur les orientations politiques et religieuses du monachisme primitif russe, tantôt influencé par l'esprit du pro-byzantin Antoine, tantôt par celui du pro-romain Théodore. Dans un long article, M. PILLON, *Sémantique et histoire de l'habitat : le «fossatum» proto-byzantin, le «fshat» albanais et le «sat» roumain*, pp. 9-41, pense que les termes *fshat/sat* en albano-roumain constituent une évolution phonétique du *fossatum* romain. Ce dernier désignait un camp retranché à l'époque proto-byzantine qui pouvait contenir plus de 15.000 personnes. Dans les régions limitrophes de l'empire le mot a pris finalement la signification du village, au même titre que le burgus, devenu *bourg*. L'intérêt de l'article réside surtout dans le fait d'utiliser la bibliographie albanaise, généralement peu accessible. L'article de J. IRMSCHER, *Bizantinistica y bulgaristica*, pp. 43-47, donne des informations, assez élémentaires, sur les études byzantino-bulgares.

(P. Y.)

10. *Byzantion Nea Hellas*, 11-12 (1991-1992), pp. 359.

Édition périodique du *Centre des Études Byzantines et Néohelléniques «Fotios Malleros» de l'Université de Santiago du Chili*, contenant, entre autres, des articles intéressant les byzantinistes. Signalons l'article de H. HERRERA CAJAS, *Los estudios superiores en Bizancio*, pp. 27-49, soulignant que dans l'empire byzantin, après les études primaires, il y avait moyen de faire des études supérieures dans les écoles plus ou moins privées qui fonctionnaient dans les villes importantes sous la direction des maîtres connus. Les écoles de Rome, de Beyrouth et de Constantinople sous la protection de l'État sont devenues de vraies universités. Celle de Constantinople, malgré de multiples réformes, a fonctionné pratiquement sans interruption jusqu'à la fin de l'empire. C. GARCIA ALVAREZ, *Cuatro imágenes de Constantinopla en la literatura clásica española*, pp. 65-82, remarque que le thème de la capitale byzantine a été utilisé par quatre auteurs espagnols des XVIe-XVIIe s. Ce thème est romanesque et comme tel n'est pas susceptible d'enrichir nos connaissances historiques. Maria JALKIOPULU, *El Catálogo de la «Bibliotheca» de Focio*, pp. 115-162, parle des éditions de la *Bibliothèque* de Photius et publie la liste des titres de cette *Bibliothèque* à partir du *Paris. gr. 1266*, généralement négligé jusqu'à présent. J. MARIN R., *La «cuestión escláva» en el Peloponeso Bizantino (siglos VI-X)*, pp. 205-244, dans un long article fait l'état de la question des invasions avaro-slaves dans le Péloponnèse, mais n'apporte rien de nouveau. Maria NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *La «Cuestión Macedónica». Examen histórico del problema*, pp. 267-295, passe au crible de la critique historique le problème créé récemment par l'indépendance de la partie sud de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Elle démontre qu'il s'agit d'une fausse question qui dissimule mal l'expansionnisme slave.

(P. Y.)

11. *American Journal of Numismatics*, 3-4 (1992), pp. 270 + 17 planches.

Parmi les articles de ce numéro, celui des D. M. METCALF, J. M P. CABRAL et L. C. ALVES, *Sixth-Century Visigothic Metrology, Some Evidence from Portugal*, pp. 65-90, intéresse les byzantinistes. Il traite la question des monnaies wisigothiques qui copient les monnaies d'or d'Anastase Ier, de Justin Ier, de Justinien Ier et de Justin II. Puisque la métrologie des Wisigoths suivait les mêmes principes que celle des Byzantins, les recherches dans ce domaine peuvent aider à résoudre les problèmes complexes de la métrologie monétaire byzantine.

(P. Y.)

12. D. TSOUGARAKIS, *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem. Text, Translation, Commentary (The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453, 2)*, Leiden, New York et Cologne, 1993, pp. xii + 252.

Édition critique, à partir de deux manuscrits de Patmos du XIIIe siècle, et traduction anglaise de la biographe de S. Jean, patriarche de Jérusalem. L'édition est précédée d'un chapitre historique. S. Jean, né vers 1110/15 est devenu moine et puis higoumène du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos. Vers 1176, il est élu patriarche de Jérusalem ; il est mort le 14 mai 1185. Il appartenait au groupe des ultra orthodoxes et est l'auteur de plusieurs écrits. Sa biographie, due à Théodose Goudelis moine de Patmos, a été rédigée peu après la mort de Jean.

(P. Y.)

13. D. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Ὁ «Ἱερὸς Κώδιξ» τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στὸ Β΄ μισὸ τοῦ ΙΕ΄ αἰῶνα. Τὰ μόνα γνωστὰ σπαράγματα (Ἐθνικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν. Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 43. Θεσμοὶ καὶ Ἰδεολογία στὴ νεοελληνικὴ κοινωνία)*, Athènes, 1992, pp. 200.

Le manuscrit des registres synodaux du Patriarcat de Constantinople, connu aussi sous le nom de «Codex sacré», est perdu, sauf la partie contenant les actes synodaux de 1315 à 1404. Dans un manuscrit de Samos ont été découverts récemment des actes allant de 1474 à 1498. Une étude détaillée des données matérielles, paléographiques et diplomatiques prouve l'authenticité des documents. Cette partie est suivie d'une édition diplomatique assortie d'une analyse historique des affaires rapportées.

Ce travail enrichit l'arsenal des sources du XVe s. ; il est fondamental pour les historiens de la période qui suit la chute de Constantinople.

(P. Y.)

14. *The Making of Byzantine History. Studie Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol (Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, Publications 1)*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. xxvii + 206.

Mélanges offerts au Prof. D.Nicol, dont la bibliographie compilée par I. MARTIN, occupe les pp. xiii-xxvii. La première partie du livre intitulée *History of the future : prophecy and prescription*, l'article de P. MAGDALINO, *The history of the future and its uses : prophecy, policy and propaganda* (pp. 3-34), traite de la prolifération de la littérature eschatologique depuis le début du VIe siècle. W. HANAK, *Some historiographical observations on the sources of Nestor-Iskander's «The Tale of Constantinople»* (pp. 35-45), étudie un cas particulier de la littérature apocalyptique afin de déterminer l'origine de ses composantes. M ARGOLD, *Were Byzantine monastic typika literature ?* (pp. 46-70), analyse la place des *typica* dans la littérature byzantine et leur influence dans le domaine de l'éducation ainsi que dans celui de la vie des tous les jours.

Dans la deuxième partie du livre (*History of the present : contemporary interpretations in the later empire*), R. GREENFIELD, *Sorcery and politics at the Byzantine court in the twelfth century : interpretations of history*, (pp. 73-85), souligne le rôle joué par les sorciers et les voyants dans la définition de la politique impériale au XIIe siècle. C. CONSTANTINIDES, *Byzantine scholars and the Union of Lyons (1274)* (pp. 86-93), note que malgré la politique officielle de Michel VIII, les idées unionistes n'ont pas eu cours parmi les intellectuels de Byzance. Pour Angeliki LAÏOU, *On political geography : the Black Sea of Pachymeres* (pp. 94-121), les connaissances ethnologiques et géographiques des Byzantins étaient plus amples que l'on ne le pense généralement. A. SAVVIDES, *Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies : the Turcoples/ Tourkopouloi* (pp. 122-136), fait des estimations du nombre et de l'importance des mercenaires Turcs dans les armées chrétiennes, tandis que M. KORDOSES, *The question of Constantine Palaiologos' coronation* (pp. 137-141), situe dans le conflit unioniste la question de la validité institutionnelle du couronnement de Constantin Paléologue en 1449.

La troisième partie du livre (*History of the past : medieval and modern approaches*) inclut seulement deux articles qui intéressent les byzantinistes : celui de T. S. BROWN, *History as myth : medieval perceptions of Venice's Roman and Byzantine past* (pp. 145-157), et celui de A. SOPKO, *Patristic methodology in late Byzantium* (pp. 158-168). Le premier porte sur l'exploitation spéculative de la part des Vénitiens du passé byzantin de leur ville ; le second est plutôt théologique et souligne l'importance du discours théologique orthodoxe durant la période des Paléologues.

(P. Y.)

15. Annemarie Weyl Carr et L. J. Morrocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, the Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus*, Austin, 1992, pp. 159.

Excellent ouvrage collectif concernant les peintures murales de la petite église de Lysi dans la partie occupée de Chypre après l'invasion turque de 1974. Comme B. Davezac l'explique dans l'*Introduction* (pp. 7-14), l'église a commencé à être pillée par les Turcs, comme d'ailleurs d'autres monuments cypriotes, et des morceaux ont été saisis à l'étranger. Sa restauration s'avérait donc nécessaire. Le travail a été réalisé par L. J. Marrocco, qui, dans sa contribution intitulée *The Reconstruction and Restoration of the Lysi Murals* (pp. 15-113), explique la technique utilisée et les moyens mis en œuvre pour la restauration du monuments et de ses fresques. Annemarie Weyl Caar, *The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus* (pp. 15-113), fait une étude historique et artistique des fresques de Lysi. Cela lui permet d'analyser toute la production picturale cypriote du XIIIe s. et même d'envisager l'ensemble de la production byzantine durant ce même siècle.

(P. Y.)

16. F. Rochontis, *Γουλιέλμος Βιλλαρδουίνος ὁ Καλαμάτας Πρίγκηπας τοῦ Μορέως*, Athènes, 1991, pp. 159.

Biographie de Guillaume II Villehardouin, prince de la Morée entre 1246-1278. Fils de Godefroy Ier Villehardouin et d'Élisabeth de Chappes, il est né dans le Péloponnèse vers 1210. Sous son règne, l'État franc de la Morée arrive à son point culminant du point vue militaire (tout le Péloponnèse lui a été soumis), mais aussi du point de vue institutionnel et économique. Le système féodal, adapté aux circonstances locales, a favorisé la production agricole et l'activité commerciale. En même temps, l'aristocratie chevaleresque commence à s'helléniser pour donner naissance à une culture locale imprégnée d'esprit greco-byzantin. Une étude intéressante pour une période généralement peu étudiée.

(P. Y.)

17. R. Le Coz, *Jean Damascène. Écrits sur l'Islam. Présentation, commentaires et traduction (Sources Chrétiennes, n°383)*, Paris, 1992, pp. 272.

Édition critique et traduction française des deux écrits sur l'Islam de Jean Damascène, à savoir la centième hérésie du *Livre sur les hérésies* et la *Controverse entre un musulman et un chrétien*. Une longue partie introductive informe le lecteur sur la situation politico-religieuse du Proche-Orient aux VIe et VIIe s., et sur la vie et les œuvres de Jean Damascène, spécialement sur l'authenticité des deux textes édités. En outre, un chapitre analyse les points

controversés entre le christianisme et l'islam, qui constituent le noyau central des deux écrits de Jean Damascène.

Ce volume entre parfaitement dans la série des Sources Chrétiennes. Sans être novateur, il résume avec clarté les faits historiques, sans avancer vers un état de la question critique et systématique et sans proposer des solutions ou des perspectives nouvelles aux problèmes. Un bon instrument de travail.

(P. Y.)

18. Liliane ENNABLI, *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*, III : *Carthage intra et extra muros* (*Collection de l'École française de Rome*, 151. *Recherches d'Archéologie africaine publiées par l'Institut national d'Archéologie et d'Art de Tunis*), Rome, 1991, pp. 397.

Édition de 615 inscriptions chrétiennes, dont la majorité en latin, provenant de divers points de Carthage. Ce fait tout seul prouve la latinisation profonde des populations nord-africaines, réalité attestée par d'autres sources. Toutefois, l'étude phonologique et onomastique des inscriptions indique un brassage considérable des populations déjà antérieur à l'ère byzantine.

Les documents publiés sont datés de la seconde moitié du IVe s. à la fin du VIIe s. Donc, plusieurs de ces inscriptions sont byzantines et de ce fait intéressantes pour les byzantinistes. Même si elles ne contiennent pas des informations nouvelles, elles confirment par leur présence les informations des sources littéraires.

L'édition est complète. Tous les documents sont illustrés ; l'édition est commentée et assortie d'une bibliographie exhaustive. Un instrument de travail idéal.

(P. Y.)

19. M. POZZA, *I trattati con Aleppo, 1207-1254 (Pacta Venete, 2)*, Venise, 1990, pp. 75.

Venise entretenait des relations commerciales avec le monde arabe. Elle utilisait pour cela l'intermédiaire de l'empire byzantin . Aux Xe-XIe s., les Vénitiens utilisaient comme bases les possessions byzantines en Syrie. Après la perte de la Syrie byzantine à la fin du XIe siècle, ils sont entrés en contact direct avec les Arabes de Syrie. Ces relations ont pris la forme d'accords bilatéraux, dont six documents, signés entre 1207 et 1254, font l'objet de ce livre. L'édition de chacun de ces documents est précédée d'une notice qui le place dans son contexte historique.

Étude intéressante permettant de mieux cerner la question des relations commerciales entre l'Orient et l'Occident.

(P. Y.)

20. S. PASCHALIDIS, *Ὁ Βίος τῆς Ὁσιομυροβλύτιδος Θεοδώρας τῇ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς Ὁσίας Θεοδώρας. Εἰσαγωγή-Κριτικὸ κείμενο-Μετάφραση-Σχόλια* (*Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θεσσαλονίκης. Κέντρον Ἁγιολογικῶν Μελετῶν*, 1), Thessalonique, 1991, pp. 314.

La vie et les miracles de Sainte Théodora, née à Egine en 812 et morte à Thessalonique en 892, ont fait l'objet de biographies, de récits, de synaxaires et de louanges. Sa biographie originale est rédigée par Grégoire le Clerc en 894. Ce texte important donne plusieurs renseignements au sujet du second iconoclasme, de la vie quotidienne à Thessalonique, durant le IXe s., mais aussi des incursions arabes dans la Grèce du Sud. La seule édition du texte était faite à partir d'un seul manuscrit, lacune comblée par cette édition complétéé par un récit sur la translation des reliques de la sainte, texte toutefois déjà édité.

L'introduction reprend les textes hagiographiques rédigés en l'honneur de Théodora, la tradition manuscrite et les éditions. Un autre chapitre est consacré à l'auteur de la *Vita*. L'édition est complétée par une traduction en grec moderne et par des commentaires historiques et théologiques. Un long appendice est consacré à l'histoire du monastère de Ste-Théodora à Thessalonique.

L'édition critique répond à toutes les exigences de l'ecdotique. Nous regrettons l'absence d'un relevé des références aux textes patristiques ; l'auteur signale cette absence, mais cela ne résout pas la question. Du point de vue historique, l'édition ne change en rien nos connaissances, puisque les deux textes étaient déjà connus, tandis que du point de vue philologique des nouvelles leçons sont sans importance. Le mérite de l'édition consiste dans le fait de disposer dorénavant d'un texte sûr et fiable.

(P. Y.)

21. G. T. DENNIS, MICHAEL PSELLUS. *Orationres Panegyricae (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana)*, Stuttgart et Leipzig, 1994, pp. xvi, 214.

Édition critique des *Discours panégyriques* de Michel Psellos à partir de 12 manuscrits contenant la collection complète de ces discours. En plus, l'édition fait appel à quatre autres manuscrits qui transmettent une partie de la collection. Dans l'introduction sont encore inclus le stemma et les abréviations. L'édition comme telle répond aux normes de l'ecdotique, tandis que les index satisfont pleinement le chercheur.

(P. Y.)

22. Jutta-Annettte BRUHN, *Coins and Costume in Late Antiquity*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Reseearch Library and Collection, 1993, pp. 68.

Depuis l'époque romaine, la monnaie, surtout celle en or et moins celle en argent, à part son usage commercial était utilisée comme objet de parure. Cette habitude se prolonge dans l'ère byzantine. On trouve des monnaies insérées dans des bijoux, comme par ex. des couronnes, des bracelets, des colliers, des pendentifs, tandis que parfois elles sont accompagnées de pierres précieuses. L'étude de ces pièces est très utile, car les pièces sélectionnées à ces fins étaient de bonne qualité, bien centrées et bien frappées. Un usage particulier était celui des militaires qui incorporaient des pièces, ici des pièces de bronze aussi, dans leurs cuirasses.

L'auteur après une étude des techniques de fixation et de décoration, publie un catalogue d'objets parés de monnaies.

(P. Y.)

23. Maria DZIELSKA, *Hypatia z Aleksandrii (Zeskyty Naukowe Uniwerrsytetu Jagielloñskiego, MXCIX, Prace Historyczne, Zeszyt 104)*, Cracovie, Nakladem Uniwersytetu Jagielloñskiego, 1993, pp. 161. En polonais ; résumé en anglais.

Dans un long état de la question l'auteur explique comment la littérature historisante du siècle passé a créé une légende entièrement fausse autour d'Hypatia. Démystifier cette personnalité, tel est le but avoué de cette étude. Hypatia «martyr du paganisme», est un cliché moderne. Historiquement, il s'agit d'un personnage du ve s., qui a vécu à Alexandrie. Elle a été formée par son frère, l'éminent mathématicien et astronome Théon. Comme intellectuelle, elle faisait partie des derniers philosophes néoplatoniciens d'Alexandrie. Les circonstances de sa mort restent peu claires. Il semble qu'elle est morte lors des troubles politico-religieux qui ont eu lieu à Alexandrie.

(P. Y.)

24. *Paganism in the Later Roman Empire and in Byzantium (= Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia, I)*, responsable de l'édition : M. SALAMON, Cracovie, 1991, pp. 182.

Parmi les articles contenus dans ce volume, les suivants intéressent les byzantinistes : Maria DZIELSKA, *Ipazia e la sua cerchia intellettuale* (pp. 45-60), qui reprend le sujet de l'Hypatia auquel elle avait consacré déjà une étude (cfr la notice sous le n° 23). Les sources permettent de dire que cette philosophe était une néoplatonicienne, mais fort influencée par le Christianisme. Helena CICHOCKA, *Zosimus' Account of Christianity* (pp. 89-104), prouve que Photius était mal intentionné quand il notait que Zosime était un païen militant. Zosime, malgré son paganisme n'a jamais été un fanatique. M. WILCZYNSKI,

Bemerkungen über das Verhältnis der Wandalenkönige zu den Ueberresten des Heidentums in nordafrikanischen Provinzen (pp. 105-110), pense qu'une certaine forme de paganisme a survécu parmi les populations de l'Afrique proconsulaire à cause de l'occupation vandale. M. WHITBY, *John of Ephesus and the Pagans : Pagan Survivals in the Sixth Century* (pp. 111-131), exploite les écrits de Jean d'Ephèse pour dire qu'en Asie Mineure et en Syrie le paganisme restait encore vivant au VIe siècle, tandis que Jean Malalas permet de savoir que des païens vivaient même à Constantinople au même moment. Ilse ROCHOW, *Der Vorwurf des Heidentums als Mittel der innenpolitischen Polemik in Byzanz* (pp. 133-156), analyse la signification, durant l'ère byzantine, de certains termes utilisés pour désigner les païens et le paganisme. Le terme Ἕλλην garda jusqu'à la fin la signification de «païen». Pourtant Anna DABROWSKA, *Hellenism at the Court of Despots of Mistra in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century* (pp. 157-167), est d'avis que le terme «hellénisme» dès le XIVe s. n'était plus un synonyme de «paganisme». Anna ROZYCKA BRYZEK, *Miraculous Fligth on Clouds in Byzantine Art : Antique Imagery Transformed* (pp. 169-182), porte la question dans le domaine de l'art et étudie le processus de récupération par l'art byzantin du motif païen du vol miraculeux.

(P. Y.)

25. *Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres, (Illinois Byzantine Studies, III)*, Urbana et Chicago, 1992, pp. 75.

Travail collectif, richement illustré, rédigé après une exposition organisée par le Service d'archéologie byzantine de Kavala et dans laquelle ont été exposés 25 objets en céramique provenant de Serres. Eunice DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE et H. MAGUIRE (*Byzantine Pottery in the History of Art*, pp. 120), étudient la place de la poterie dans l'art byzantin, sa technique, son esthétique, son dessin, son commerce et ses relations avec la poterie asiatique. La production de Serres, par sa liberté créative donne une idée de l'art non officiel dans les provinces. Démétra PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZIS (*Serres : A Glazed-pottery Production Center during the Late Byzantine Period*, pp. 21-35), analyse la production de l'atelier de Serres qui, après le milieu du XIIIe s., perfectionna la technique de la glaçure. L'aire de dispersion de sa production paraît considérable. Ch. BAKIRTZIS (*A Note on the History and Culture of Serres during the Late Byzantine Period*, pp. 36-65), introduit le catalogue des objets par une courte notice signalant que Serres a été un centre provincial important depuis de IXe s. Depuis le XIIIe s., la ville devient le centre intellectuel et artistique le plus important de la Macédoine, après Thessalonique. Le livre est clôturé par certaines considérations techniques de Sarah WISSEMAN (*The Materials Analysis of Byzantinze Pottery*, pp. 66-69) : l'étude des glaçures, de la terre et des pigments indique une fabrication locale.

(P. Y.)

26. Stefan HAUSER, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel. Bemerkungen zur Produktion von Luxusgütern im 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert (= Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 19 . 1992)*, Münster, 1992, pp. 147, 52 planches hors texte.

Intéressante étude des cuillers byzantines en argent fabriquées entre le Ve et le VIIe s. Elle porte sur 225 exemplaires, que l'auteur classe en 11 groupes différents, d'après l'origine et la forme. En outre sont considérés, certains spécimens en métal vil, mais de manière occasionnelle.

Travail fondamental pour les produits de luxe durant la période protobyzantine et leur commerce. Le livre concerne la métallurgie byzantine en général comme d'ailleurs la métrologie. L'exploitation sociologique est par contre négligée, comme les textes qui parlent de ces objets.

(P. Y.)

27. Denise PAPACHYSANTHOU, *Ὁ ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμός. Ἀρχὲς καὶ ὀργάνωση (Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης)*, Athènes, 1992, pp. 461.

Adaptation grecque, faite par l'auteur, de son livre *Actes de Prôtaton*, Paris, 1975, traitant de l'évolution historique du monachisme athonite jusqu'au XIe s. et des institutions du Mont Athos. Comme dans l'édition française, l'auteur explique les raisons qui l'obligent à admettre la présence de moines au Mont Athos seulement à partir du VIIIe s. leur organisation en communautés à partir du IXe s. Ce n'est qu'à partir du Xe siècle que l'Athos est devenu un centre monastique important. L'organisation de chacun des monastères au sein de la communauté athonite est à l'origine des institutions propres à la Montagne Sainte. L'auteur localise l'apparition de chaque institution et explique la raison de sa création. Pour donner une idée complète de ces institutions, le livre est complété par un catalogue des personnes ayant exercé une fonction administrative dans le cadre de la communauté athonite.

(P. Y.)

28. Y. SPITERIS, *La teologia ortodossa neo-greca (Collana di studi religiosi)*, Bologne, 1992, pp. 486.

Pour un byzantiniste, ce livre théologique peut avoir un intérêt seulement à cause de ses références au monde byzantin. En réalité, le Ier chapitre qui traite de la préhistoire de l'Église orthodoxe néo-hellénique, va jusqu'au XVe s., c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la dernière période byzantine. Pour le reste, il analyse les courants qui ont contribué à la formation de l'orthodoxie néo-hellénique et essaye de tracer ses perspectives.

(P. Y.)

29. J. J. YIANNIAS, edid., *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, Charlottesville et Londres, 1991, pp. 354.

Travail collectif visant, comme l'explique son éditeur J. J. YANNIAS (pp. viii-xiv), à repérer les survivances de la civilisation byzantine dans les peuples qui ont continué à vivre sur le territoire de l'ancien empire après 1453. Les survivances sont d'ordre religieux, comme le note S. RUNCIMAN, *Rum Milleti : The Orthodox Communities under the Ottoman Sultans* (pp. 1-15), ou d'ordre législatif et administratif, comme le soulignent S. VRYONIS, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Formal Culture of the Balkan Peoples* (pp. 17-44), et J. MEYENDORFF, *Was there Ever a «Third Rome» ? Remarks on the Byzantine Legacy in Russia* (pp. 45-60). Mais ces survivances sont surtout d'ordre artistique d'après M. VELIMIROVIC, *Byzantine Musical Traditions among the Slavs* (pp. 95-105), Ch. BOURAS, *The Byzantine Tradition in the Church Architecture of the Balkans in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (pp. 107-149), Thalia GOUMA-PETERSON, *The Icon as a Cultural Presence after 1453* (pp. 151-180) et G. VIKAN, *Walters Lectionary W.535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople* (pp. 181-268). Ces réminiscences ne sont pas dépourvues de contenu culturel d'après Aglaia KASDALI, *Gender Differentiation and Social Practice in Post-byzantine Naxos* (pp. 61-94) et J. YANNIAS, *The Refectory Paintings of Mount Athos : An Interpretation* (pp. 269-340).

Malgré le fait que ces études concernent la période post-byzantine, voire même la période moderne, elles gardent leur intérêt pour les byzantinistes ; leurs auteurs remontent souvent le temps pour chercher l'origine de certaines manifestations tardives.

(P. Y.)

30. Angeliki LAIOU et H. MAGUIRE, edid., *Byzantium. A World Civilization*, Washington, D.C., 1992, pp. vii, 162.

Ouvrage collectif visant, comme les éditeurs le signalent (pp. 1-3), à introduire le lecteur dans la civilisation byzantine. Le livre contient sept communications faites lors de deux réunions organisées en 1990 et 1991 pour marquer la cinquantenaire de Dumbarton Oaks, dont M. ANASTOS, *Dumbarton Oaks and Byzantine Studies, a Personal Account* (pp. 5-18), résume les activités.

Après un survol de l'histoire byzantine, fait par S. VRYONIS, *Byzantine Civilisation, a World Civilisation* (pp. 19-35), D. OBOLENSKY, *Byzantium and the Slavic World* (pp. 37-47), parle des relations entre Byzance et le monde slave en répétant ses idées bien connues au sujet des invasions slaves. I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Islamic World* (pp. 49-60) met surtout l'accent sur le patrimoine philosophique du monde hellénique qui par l'intermédiaire byzantin fut connu des Arabes. Angeliki LAIOU, *Byzantium and the West*

(pp. 61-79), étudie les Croisades, et G. VIKAN, *Byzantine Art* (pp. 81-118), essaye une synthèse de l'art byzantin, mais ne parle que de la peinture religieuse. H. MAGUIRE, *Byzantine Art History in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 119-162), consacre son remarquable article aux études et aux recherches ayant pour objet l'art byzantin.

(P. Y.)

31. *Atti del II Simposio di Efeso su S.Giovanni Apostolo* (= *Turchia : la Chiesa e la sua storia*, III), Rome, 1992, pp. 228.

Actes concernant la théologie biblique. Nous remarquons l'absence des théologiens orthodoxes, et nous signalons l'intitulé plutôt surprenant de la collection. Si l'on y ajoute le fait que l'organisateur du symposium est une association portant le titre «Eteria : per promuovere i pellegrinaggi in Turchia», on peut légitimment se poser des questions quant au sérieux du genre des colloques qui mettent la science au service de la propagande touristique.

(P. Y.)

32. A. ANGELOU, *Manuel Palaiologos. Dialogue with the Emperess-Mother on Marriage. Introduction, Text and Translation* (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, Band XIX), Vienne, 1991, pp. 135, 2 planches hors texte.

Édition et traduction anglaise du *Dialogue sur la morale et sur le mariage* de Manuel Paléologue avec sa mère, l'impératrice Hélène, épouse de Jean V Paléologue. Ce texte traite dans un style archaïsant une série de questions morales, mais surtout parle de l'opportunité du mariage. Il a été rédigé entre 1394 et 1396, et, selon l'éditeur, malgré son apparence prosaïque, il possède un rythme poétique qui influence l'accentuation et la ponctuation.

L'édition, les commentaires et les explications historiques et philologiques répondent pleinement aux exigences de l'ecdotique.

(P. Y.)

33. *Rhythm in Byzantine Chant*, Hernen, 1991, pp. ix, 201.

Actes d'un colloque organisé par la *Fondation A. A. Bredius* à Hernen aux Pays-Bas, en novembre 1986, ayant pour thème le rythme du chant byzantin, et dont Ch. HANNICK, *Probleme der Rhythmik des byzantinischen Kirchengesangs. Ein Rückblik auf die Forschungsgeschichte* (pp. 1-19), fait l'état de la question. Plusieurs communications concernent le chant liturgique contemporain et son écriture neumatique dans la tradition orthodoxe (G. CIOBANU, *La rythmique des neumes byzantins dans les transcriptions de J. D. Petrescu et de Egon Wellesz par rapport à la pratique actuelle*, pp. 21-35 ; Gerda WOLFRAM, *Der Rhythmus in den Arbeiten von Egon Wellesz*, pp. 37-43 ; M. DRAGOUMIS, *Markos Vasileiou, a Pionneer of Byzantine Musicology*,

pp. 45-53 ; D. STEFANOVIC, *The Importance of Rhythmi in the Bilingual Polyeleos by Isaiah the Serb (15th Century)*, pp. 101-108 ; B. KARASTOJANOV, *Tonemas and Prosodemas as Rhythmic Elements of Znamennyj Rospev*, pp. 109-127). Signalons les communications de R. SCHLÖTTERER, *Einige allgemeine Überlegungen zur Frage des Rhythmus im byzantinischen Kirchengesang*, pp. 55-65, de J. RAASTED, *Rhythm in Byzantine Chant*, pp. 67-91, et de P. WEINCKE, *The Diple Interpreted as the Basic Rhythmical Unit*, pp. 93-100, qui tentent une analyse métrique des hymnes byzantins et mettent en relation la métrique avec la musique. Elena TONCEVA, *Tonema-The Theorie and the Rhythmic Interpretation of Byzantine Tune*, pp. 129-140, explique l'origine polyphonique du chant slave, et dans une autre communication (*The Bulgarian Liturgical Chant (9th-19th Cebturies*, pp. 141-193) met en avant des idées nationalistes bulgares qui n'ont rien à faire dans un colloque scientifique.

(P. Y.)

34. Elisabeth MALAMUT, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris, 1993, pp. 399.

Les Vies de Saints indiquent que plusieurs de leur héros ont entrepris des voyages, dont l'auteur étudie les itinéraires. Sont surtout envisagés les voyages effectués à l'intérieur des frontières byzantines entre le IVe et le XIe s. ; des voyages hors frontières ou encore les saints voyageurs venant de l'extérieur sans être complètement négligés, sont moins pris en compte.

L'analyse commence par l'étude des points de départ et des points d'arrivée des saints voyageurs, pour passer aux types de voyage : voyage monastique, errance, pèlerinage. Les données des sources sont aussi exploitées pour l'étude des routes byzantines.

L'étude a beaucoup de mérites, dont la clarté de l'exposé est le plus grand. Elle présente toutefois certaines faiblesses, dont la principale est un certain arbitraire. Par exemple, pourquoi certaines Vies sont-elles étudiées, quand il y en a d'autres aussi intéressantes ? Le même arbitraire est à signaler dans le domaine de la bibliographie où des ouvrages connus traitant des sujets analogues, ne sont pas mentionnés.

(P. Y.)

35. A. PALIOURAS, *Ἡ ὑπέρβαση τοῦ ἐφήμερου μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν εἰκονογραφία τῶν Τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν*, Ioannina, 1992, pp. 34, 29 planches hors texte.

Petite étude sur l'iconographie de la Dormition des trois grands Pères de l'Église : S. Basile le Grand, S. Grégoire de Nanzianze et S. Jean Chrysostome. Comme dans le cas de la Dormition de la Vierge, l'art illustre la mort comme un genre de sommeil, puisque l'âme est immortelle. L'analyse de plusieurs représentations de la Dormition de ces Pères et de la Translation de leurs reliques, conduit à la conclusion que l'art byzantin exprimait ainsi l'idéal chrétien de l'éternité.

(P. Y.)

36. G. DIMITROCALLIS, *Εἰκονογραφία τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἡ Ψυχή-Πουλί*, Athènes, 1992, pp. 309.

Étude qui se réfère aussi à l'époque byzantine. Dans la première partie, où l'auteur réunit les sources littéraires parlant de l'âme, les pp. 65-70 sont consacrées aux témoignages des auteurs byzantins. Ils disent que l'âme s'envole au moment de la mort. Dans la seconde partie, sont étudiées les informations littéraires et les témoignages iconographiques qui donnent à l'âme la forme d'un oiseau. Dans les pp. 188-194, il est signalé que, pour les Chrétiens, l'âme est souvent présentée sous la forme d'une colombe blanche et rarement sous la forme d'un autre oiseau. Ce symbolisme courant à l'époque paléochrétienne est très rare durant la période byzantine, tandis qu'il abonde dans l'art européen du Moyen âge.

(P. Y.)

37. N. OIKONOMIDES, edid., *Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα* (*Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Μελετών. Διπτύχων - Παράφυλλα*, 3), Athènes, 1991, pp. 620.

Comme l'éditeur le signale dans le préface (pp. 7-9), ce volume contient les communications faites à Athènes en 1989 et en 1990, lors de deux réunions consacrées aux canonistes byzantins. Les communications peuvent être groupées par thème, sauf celle de S. TROJANOS, *Ράλλης και Ποτλής* (pp. 17-24), qui constitue un hommage aux deux savants du siècle passé : G. Rallis et M. Potlis. Le canoniste et scholiaste Balsamon fait l'objet des communications de H. HUNGER, *Kanonistenrhetorik im Bereich des Patriarchats am Beispiel des Theodoros Balsamon* (pp. 37-59), de C. GALLAGHER, *Gratian and Theodore Balsamon : two Twelfth-Century Canonistic Methods Compared* (pp. 61-89), de P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinople and the ἔξω χῶραι in the Time of Balsamon* (pp. 179-195), de V. TIFTIXOGLU, *Zur Genese der Kommentare des Theodoros Balsamon. Mit einem Exkurs über die unbekannten Kommentare des Sinaiticus gr.1117* (pp. 483-532) et de J. MEYENDORFF, *Balsamon, the Empire and the Barbarians* (pp. 533-542). Seul P. PIELER, *Johannes Zonaras als Kanonist* (pp. 601-620) a pour objet l'œuvre canoniste de Jean Zonaras. La question de la valeur juridique et du champ d'applicabilité des canons en relation avec la législation profane est examinée par S. PERENTIDIS, *Un canon peut-il être périmé ? Mentalités et autorité du texte canonique au XIIe siècle* (pp. 141-147), par B. STOLTE, *The Past in Legal Argument in the Byzantine Canonists of the Twelfth Century* (pp. 199-210) et *Civil Law in Canon Law : a Note on the Method of Interpreting the Canon in the Twelfth Century* (pp. 543-554), par Helen SARADI, *The Twelfth-Century Canon Law Commentaries on the ἀρχοντικὴ δυναστεία : Ecclesiastical Theory vs. Juridical Practice* (pp. 375-404) et par A. SCHMINCK, *Zur Entwicklung des Eherechts*

in der Komnenen-epoche (pp. 555-587). Le thème des relations entre le pouvoir impérial et les recommandations du droit canon a préoccupé Helen SARADI, *Imperial Jurisdiction over Ecclesiastical Provinces : the Ranking of New Cities as Seats of Bishops or Metropolitans* (pp. 149-163), G. DAGRON, *Le caractère sacerdotal de la royauté d'après les commentaires canoniques du XIIe siècle* (pp. 165-178), I. MEDVEDEV, *Ἡ συνοδικὴ ἀπόφαση τῆς 24 Μαρτίου 1171 ὡς νόμος γιὰ τὴ διαδοχὴ στὸ θρόνο τοῦ Βυζαντίου* (pp. 229-238), C. G. FÜRST, *Aspecke von «Kirche und Gesellschaft» in der Kanonistik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (pp. 321-334). K. PITSAKIS, *Ἡ ἔκταση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἑνὸς ὑπερόριου πατριάρχη· ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τὸν 12ο αἰώνα* (pp. 91-139) et Marina LOULAKI, *Ο ιδανικός πατριάρχης μέσα από τα ρητορικά κείμενα του 12ου αιώνα* (pp. 301-319) traitent certains aspects canoniques de la fonction patriarcale. O. LAMPSIDIS, *Πῶς εἰσάγουν εἰς τὰ κείμενά των οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν κανόνων τὰς εἰδήσεις διὰ τὸν σύγχρονόν των κόσμον* (pp. 211-227), Angeliki LAÏOU, *God and Mammon : Credit, Trade, Profit and the Canonists* (pp. 261-300), P. BOGLIONI, *La religion populaire dans les collections canoniques occidentales de Burchard de Worms à Gratien* (pp. 335-356), et P. MAGDALINO, *Enlightenment and Repression in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Evidence of the Canonists* (pp. 357-373), analysent les canons de manière critique afin de déterminer leur valeur en tant que sources historiques. Dans le même ordre d'idées, Elefteria PAPAYANNI, *Τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν δούλων στὸ ἔργο τῶν κανονολόγων τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνα* (pp. 405-445), Florentia EVANGELATOU-NOTARA, *Ὁποῖόν ἐστι μέρος τῆς ἀστρολογίας κακιζόμενόν τε καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον (Αστρολογία-Αστρονομία και οι σχετικές αντιλήψεις κατά τον IB αι.)* (pp. 447-463), et S. TROJANOS, *Ιατρική επιστήμη και γιατροί στο ερμηνευτικό έργο των κανονολόγων του 12ου αιώνα* (pp. 465-479), utilisent les canons en tant que sources historiques du XIIe s. Signalons encore que la communication de H. BARTIKIAN, *Βυζαντινὸ κλητορολόγιο στὸν κώδικα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου νομικοῦ Mkhithar Gos (+ 1213)* (pp. 239-259) a un intérêt philologique et paléographique, tandis que celle de Ioli KALAVREZOU, *Imperial Relations with the Chrurch in the Art of the Komnenians* (pp. 25-36) ne concerne pas les canonistes, malgré le fait qu'elle utilise les canons pour expliquer certains aspects iconographiques.

(P. Y.)

38. J. SHERESHEVSKI, *Byzantine Urban Settlements in the Negev Desert (Beer-Sheva, V)*, Jérusalem, 1991, pp. 277,70 planches hors texte et 6 plans séparés.

La région du Negev resta byzantine jusqu'à la conquête arabe en 634. Son centre urbain le plus important était Elusa. Le livre étudie systématiquement 7 et occasionnellement encore 5 agglomérations byzantines de la région, dont 6 sont situées sur la montagne Hauran. Pour chaque localité sont étudiés :

l'histoire du site, le plan urbain, les bâtiments publics administratifs, les églises, les fortifications et l'infrastructure urbaine. L'étude typologique permet de dire que ces agglomérations sont caractérisées par une conception locale de l'organisation de l'espace, sans influence du plan hippodamique des cités hellénistiques. Les constructions tiennent compte des conditions climatiques locales et des matériaux locaux. Les églises sont à trois nefs et leurs dimensions sont influencées par l'architecture traditionnelle de la région. En général, l'histoire de ces sites remonte à l'époque hellénistique, mais durant la période byzantine, ils ont connu un renouveau et un développement considérables à cause de la sédentarisation des Nabatéens. Sur le plan architectural, on peut observer l'abandon des formes traditionnelles de la région au profit de l'architecture plus ronde et plus monumentale d'origine byzantine. La conquête arabe a mis fin à ce renouveau.

Étude très importante pour la connaissance des conditions de vie dans la périphérie de l'empire. On peut seulement regretter le silence autour de trouvailles des fouilles, que l'auteur semble connaître assez bien.

(P. Y.)

39. *Fortunatae. Revista Canaria de Filologia, Cultura y Humanidades Clasicas*, 3 (1992), pp. 403 et 4 (1992), pp. 306.

Édition périodique de l'Université de Laguna de la Grande Canarie consacrée aux études classiques, mais publiant aussi des articles qui peuvent intéresser les byzantinistes. Ainsi, dans le n° 3, A. Lopez, *Retorica frente a Cristianismo en la Autobiografia de Libanio*, pp. 85-98, qui admet que Libanius oppose au Christianisme les valeurs helléniques de la formation et de la culture.

Dans le n° 4, l'article de J. Barreto Betancort, *Notas sobre la historia de la redaccion y estructura del texto de Jn. 1,1-18*, pp. 11-40, propose de voir dans l'introduction de l'Évangile selon S. Jean une expansion textuelle de la composition originale. Un sujet qui intéressera sans doute les biblistes. Tandis qu'Olga Omatos, *Misoginia en la tradicion litteraria neohelénica*, pp. 163-181, étudiant l'adoption du thème classique de la misogynie dans la littérature néogrecque, passe par la période médiévale et donne quelques références aux écrivains byzantins.

(P. Y.)

40. P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies à l'Ecclésiaste* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 397), Paris, 1993, pp. 200.

Édition et traduction française des Scholies, récemment découvertes, d'Évagre à l'Ecclésiaste, réunies ici pour la première fois. Ce livre de l'Ancien Testament est parmi les moins cités par les auteurs byzantins, à cause sans doute de sa position négative envers les activités humaines. Évagre saisit

l'occasion pour en faire des scholies d'allure monastique, réduisant ainsi la portée universelle du texte. L'édition, très soignée, entre parfaitement dans la tradition de la collection, qui vise non seulement le public des scientifiques, mais aussi un public large de lecteurs avertis.

(P. Y.)

41. *«The Sweet Land of Cyprus». Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Birmingham, March 1991*, éd. A. A. M. Bryer et G. S. Georghallides, Nicosie, 1993, pp. xvi, 454.

Comme le sous-titre du livre l'indique, il s'agit de l'édition des Actes d'un Colloque organisé à Birmingham et consacré à Chypre byzantine. Parmi les communications faites, 17 sont publiées en entier ; pour 15 autres seul un résumé a paru. Toute les périodes de l'histoire cypriote sont représentées, avec toutefois une préférence pour la période suivant le XIe s. Parmi les disciplines, l'archéologie et l'histoire de l'art sont les plus favorisées (une quinzaine de communications). D'ailleurs, la belle et abondante illustration du livre accentue l'impression d'un ouvrage plutôt archéologique.

Ouvrage d'une importance capitale pour les historiens et les philologues qui étudient le passé de l'île de Chypre.

(P. Y.)

42. D. A. Karampelopoulos, *Γνώσεις ἀνατομίας καὶ φυσιολογίας τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ Διδασκάλου τοῦ Γένους Ἀνθίμου Γαζῆ* (1758-1828), Athènes, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑταιρεία Μελέτης «Φερῶν-Βελεστίνου-Ρήγα»*, 1993, pp. 55.

Anthimos Gazis, grâce à sa formation philologique et à ses connaissances physiologiques, a contribué grandement à la formation de la terminologie scientifique néogrecque. La traduction en grec du livre de B. Martin «Grammaire des Sciences Philologiques» et les divers commentaires de Gazis, surtout dans son «Dictionnaire» sont à la base du vocabulaire grec médical contemporain. Les connaissances d'anatomie de ce même auteur s'avèrent aussi grandes à la lecture de ses commentaires au livre «Manuel consultatif» de S. Nicodème. Il est clair que Gazis fut l'une des personnalités brillantes de la période des «lumières néohelléniques».

Despina Papadopoulou-Koliopoulou

43. D. A. Karampelopoulos, *Ἰατρικὲς γνώσεις τοῦ Ρήγα Βελεστινλῆ στὸ ἔργο του «Φυσικῆς Ἀπάνθισμα»*, tiré à part de la revue *Ὑπέρια*, 1 (1986), pp. 457-499.

Rigas Velestinlis possédait des connaissances médicales hors du commun qu'il expose dans son «Recueil de la Physique». En outre, il y développe des

théories concernant l'anatomie du corps humain ainsi que son fonctionnement physiologique. Il a encore le mérite d'être le premier qui, dans une édition grecque, décrit la circulation sanguine et le fonctionnement du cœur.

Despina PAPADOPOULOU-KOLIOPOULOU

44. *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9. - 12. Jahrhunderts.* 1. Faszikel (*ἀρ-ἀργυροζώμιον*), erstellt von E. TRAPP, unter Mitarbeit von W. HÖRANDER und J. DIETHART, sowie von Astrid STEINER-WEBER, Elisabeth SCHIFFER, G. FATOUROS, J. DECLERCK, M. HINTERBERGER, M. CHRONZ, G. WEISS, R. VOLK, G. STICKLER, L. HOFFMANN, Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1994 (*Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, 238. Bd = *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, VI/1). Pages I-IV (non numérotées) + 1-192 in-4°, broché. 2. *Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen*, Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1994 (*Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften = Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*). 53 pages in-4°, broché.

Les deux fascicules présentés ici sont une bonne fortune pour tous les byzantinistes et pour leurs élèves. Ils feront date dans l'histoire de nos études. Historiens et philologues attendaient un outil qui leur manquait. Le *L.B.G.* ne les décevra pas. Il sera composé de huit fascicules qui devraient paraître de deux en deux ans et qui seront reliés quatre par quatre. Chaque terme relevé est suivi par sa traduction allemande écrite en italique et par les références aux sources. Tout est parfaitement limpide et relativement bref grâce au système de sigles et d'abréviations bibliographiques présenté sous forme d'un fascicule séparé, la *Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen*. Le lexique est ainsi allégé. Les commentaires, explications et citations qui alourdissent et encombrent parfois la consultation des grands ouvrages tels que le *Thesaurus* d'Estienne ou le du Cange, sont laissés de côté. Quelques rares et très courtes notes dispensent quelquefois de traduire les termes qu'elles illustrent.

Voici quatre exemples typiques (les lemmes sont en grasses) : *ἀκαθιέρατος ungeweiht : ναός· | ἀκάθιστος, ἡ* ein Marienfest (zur Rettung von den Avaren a. 626) | *ἀκαθόπλιστος nicht gewaffnet : Ἀγαμέμνων Schol. Il.* 4, 100 (Dindorf). | *ἄκανθα, ἡ κώλιπα κόξα λέγεται, ἣν ἄκανθαν καλοῦσιν* (Psellos, *Poem.* 61, 31) |.

Pour réaliser ce lexique, l'auteur s'est entouré de collaborations remarquables. Outre celles qui sont mentionnées dans le titre du premier fascicule, d'autres sont encore évoquées dans la préface du professeur Trapp. Tous ont solidairement droit à la gratitude et aux félicitations. Notre Société belge des études byzantines s'honore de reconnaître parmi eux quelques collègues activement engagés dans plusieurs programmes de recherche en cours de réalisation dans

notre pays, notamment J. Declerck, Th. Détorakis, L. Hoffmann et J. Schamp. L'avant-propos signé par le professeur H. Hunger situe le *L.B.G.* dans l'ensemble des réalisations prestigieuses qui honorent l'Académie autrichienne et l'éminent byzantiniste exprime un souhait qui est aussi le nôtre «*nicht multos, sondern paucos annos*».

(J. M.)

45. G. PRINZING, *Ortsnamenindex zu stadtgeschichtlichen Arbeiten aus der Byzantinistik* unter Mitarbeit von Ingo BRADLER, Juliane GARBE, Anja HEIDE, Ch. KRAUS, M. REUS, R. WEBER und B. A. VEST, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1994. Pages I-XII + 70, 240 × 170 mm.

Cet index viendra en aide à tous ceux que l'histoire des villes byzantines pourrait intéresser. Il relève les noms de lieu cités dans onze ouvrages, dix articles et un livre, qui concernent directement l'histoire des villes byzantines et qui ont été publiés ou réimprimés sans index ni lexique depuis la fin des années soixante. Le professeur Prinzing a mis ces relevés au point avec ses élèves au séminaire d'histoire byzantine de l'université Johannes-Gütenberg de Mayence. Les noms de lieu y sont transcrits en caractères latins et suivis des références abrégées par sigles ; ceux dont la transcription allemande ou la translittération ne pose pas de problème sont en romains : Ankhialos, Delphi, Piräus ; les autres sont en italique : Pachoras/ *Faras* [Faraş] || *Palerme* / *Palermo* voir Panormos || Hierosolyma voir *Jerusalem* | *Jerusalem* / Aelia Capitolina / Hierosolyma ||.

(J. M.)

46. R. BILLETTA, *Der heilige Berg Athos in Zeugnissen aus sieben Jahrhunderten.* 1. *Einführung. Daten und Ereignisse. Literaturverzeichnis* ; 2. *Zeugnisse von 1350 bis 1837* ; 3. *Zeugnisse von 1838 bis 1872*, Mosaic Publications, Wien, New York und Dublin, 1992. 1er vol. : 578 pages et 127 illustrations dont 5 en couleur ; 2me vol. : 272 pages et 39 illustrations dont 3 en couleur ; 3me vol. : 272 pages et 57 illustrations dont 4 en couleur ; 235 × 155 mm, reliés. Prix de l'ensemble (5 volumes) : 450,- DM ou 3150,- schillings autrichiens.

Ouvrage insolite d'un septuagénaire hors série. La manchette glacée du premier volume présente l'auteur: celui-ci, après avoir fréquenté l'école technique et rêvé d'une carrière médicale, s'était trouvé enrôlé dans la Luftwaffe; ensuite il étudia la philologie germanique puis tâta des études de droit avant de reprendre finalement du service dans l'aviation civile, où il fit carrière. En 1975, au cours d'un bref séjour au Mont-Athos, la Sainte-Montagne l'avait séduit. En 1983, à l'âge de la retraite, il consacra ses loisirs à préparer les volumes que voici. Le premier tome accumule les renseignements sur l'Athos

qu'il a pu tirer de ce qu'il considère comme les «travaux-de-spécialistes-pour-spécialistes». Cette compilation de seconde main répond aux intuitions d'un esprit original qui fait l'histoire avec le cœur. La documentation y est classée chronologiquement. La bibliographie générale qui l'accompagne (vol. 1, p. 533-580) est considérable ; les ouvrages savants y sont mêlés aux publications édifiantes ou populaires et on y trouve plusieurs fois un même livre sous des titres différents (par exemple, la collection des *Archives de l'Athos* publiée par P. Lemerle et J. Lefort). Les tomes 2 et 3 groupent des témoignages, reportages, récits de voyage et tableaux d'époque répartis sur plus de cinq siècles. Chaque document est brièvement introduit et analysé. L'illustration est sobre; les vieilles photographies et les gravures anciennes, souvent suggestives. On attend les tomes 4 et 5.

(J. M.)

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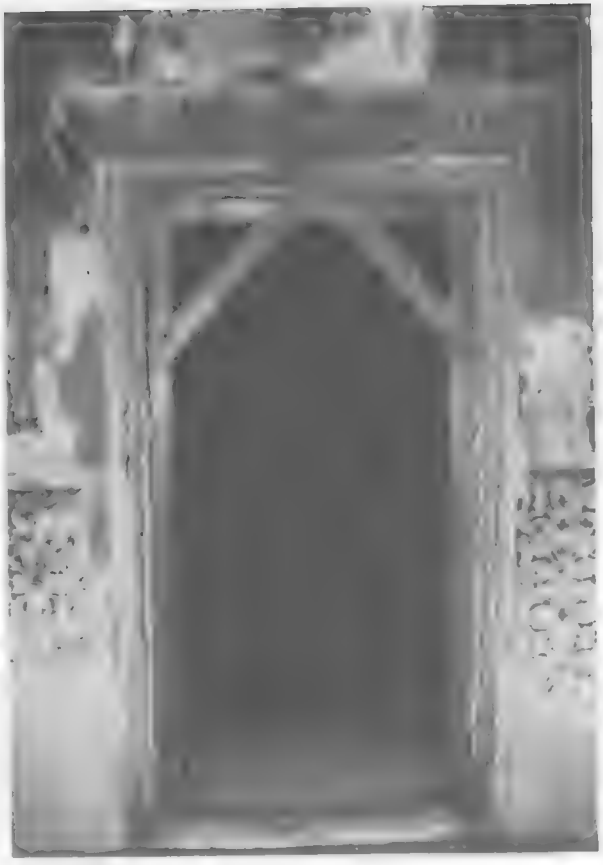

FIG. 3. — Encadrement sculpté de la porte centrale (Photo personnelle).

FIG. 4. — Détail (Photo personnelle).

FIG. 5. — Encadrement sculpté de la porte latérale droite (Photo personnelle).

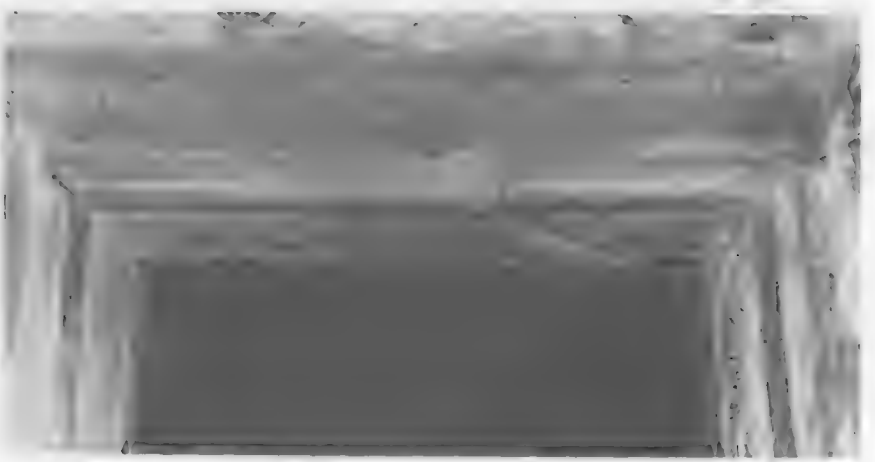

FIG. 6. — Détail (Photo personelle).

FIG. 7. — Détail du décor sculpté d'un pilier de chancel du *templon* (Photo personnelle).

FIG. 8. — Fragments sculptés du *templon* de l'église du Sauveur à Amphissa (Photo personnelle).

FIG. 9. — Détail du décor sculpté du *templon* de l'église du Sauveur d'Amphissa (Photo personelle).

FIG. 1. — Mosaic, *Moses on Sinai*. San Vitale, Ravenna.

FIG. 2. — *Moses on Sinai, Vatican, Reg. gr.* 1, f. 155v.

FIG. 3. — Mosaic, *Moses on Sinai*. St. Catherine's, Sinai.

FIG. 4. — Mosaic, *Transfiguration*, St. Catherine's, Sinai.

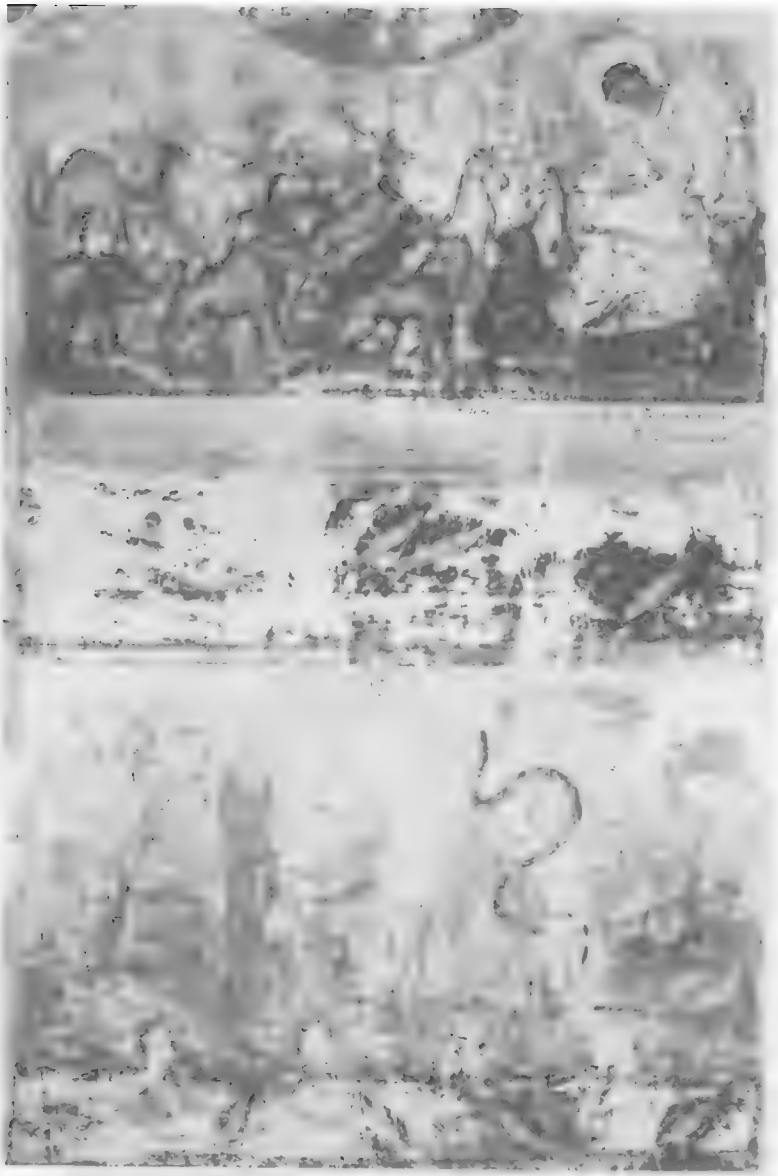

FIG. 5. — *The Creation, Vatican, Reg. gr.* 1, f. 2v.

FIG. 6. — *The Census, Vatican, Reg. gr.* 1, f. 2^{v}.

FIG. 7. — *Moses on Sinai*, Berlin, Universitätsamml., cod. 3807, f. 118^{v} (from CUTLER, *Psalters*, no. 104).

FIG. 8. — *Moses on Sinai*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, cod. W530b, f. 1v.

FIG. 9. — *Moses on Sinai*, Washington, D.C., *Dumbarton Oaks, cod. 3*, f. 73r.

FIG. 10. — *Moses on Sinai* (detail), *Vatican, Reg. gr.* 1, f. 155v.

FIG. 11. — *Moses on Sinai, Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr.* 139, f. 422v.

FIG. 12. — *Moses on Sinai, Vatican, Pal. gr.* 381, f. 422v.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Articles

Lynda GARLAND, *"The Eye of the Beholder" : Byzantine Imperial Women and their Public Image from Zoe Porphyrogenita to Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina (1028-1203)* 261
Hélène SARADI, *On the "archontike" and "ekklesiastike dynasteia" and "prostasia" in Byzantium with Particular Attention to the Legal Sources. A Study in Social History of Byzantium* 314
I. SHAHID, *Heraclius and the Unfinished Themes of Oriens. Some Final Observations* 352
J. VAN DER VLIET, *Une Vierge de Daphné. Notes sur un thème apocalyptique* 377
Catherine VANDERHEYDE, *La sculpture architecturale du* Katholikon *d'Hosios Meletios et l'émergence d'un style nouveau au début du XIIe siècle* 391
P. YANNOPOULOS, Char Lydien *et* Pégase argien *: une curieuse formule littéraire* 408

Mémoires et Documents

D. OLSTER, *Byzantine Hermeneutics after Iconoclasm : Word and Image in the Leo Bible* 419

Notes et informations

G. PRINZING, *Byzantinische Aspekte der mittelalterlichen Geschichte polens* 459
Jeannine VEREECKENN, *Découverte d'un manuscrit illustré avec «Les Oracles de Léon le Sage», signé : Georgios Klontzas. Rapport préliminaire* 485

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Jacqueline DOSOGNE-LAFONTAINE, *Chronique archéologique* 518

3. *Notices bibliographiques* par J. MOSSAY, Despina PAPADOPOULOU-KOLIOPOULOU, P. YANNOPOULOS 527

4. *Ouvrages reçus par la Rédaction* par P. YANNOPOULOS 550

Table des matières 555